FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT Westerman

FILE NO. 100-439048

SECTION NO. 9

SERIALS 394-473

100-439048-394

CHANGED TO

100-439048-25-5

MAR 23 1967

[illegible]

4-3 (Rev. 12-14-64)

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☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

11-15 PM CDST URGENT 7-7-65 DRS
TO DIRECTOR
FROM CHICAGO 080302

COMINFIL, STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IS-C.

b7D

TODAY, [redacted] ADVISED THAT ON JULY 8, NEXT, SDS WOULD DEMONSTRATE AT THE CONSOLIDATED DRAFT BOARDS NUMBER 60 THROUGH 65 AND 91 AT 2533 WEST 63RD STREET, CHICAGO. BY SUCH ACTION SDS HOPES TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE GOVERNMENT ALLEGED ILLEGITIMATE ACTIVITIES IN VIET NAM. IF SUCCESSFUL MORE AND DIFFERENT DEMONSTRATIONS ARE PLANNED BY SDS TO EFFECTIVELY SHOW OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES. FURTHER ACTIVITIES WILL GROW OUT OF THIS ACTION AND BE INTEGRATED INTO SDS COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES. SECRET SERVICE, MILITARY, AND CHICAGO PD ADVISED. CHICAGO WILL COVER. LHM FOLLOWS.

REC-10

2 JUL 13 1965

RECEIVED: 12:40 AM DFD

b7C

[redacted]

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1cc 810RB

51 JUL 9 1959

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic system.

4-528

100-439048-396.397

CHANGED TO

100-439048-15-10
100-439048-50-3

MAR 23 1967

JH-mt/KD-Dmd

100-439048-398

CHANGED TO

100-439048-27-1R

AUG 5 1971

M.N. Frahn

FBI

CONFIDENTIAL

Date: July 6, 1965

Transmit the following in _____ (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: LEGAT, OTTAWA (100-1455)

COMINFIL
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

b1 [redacted]

[redacted] b7C

Reference is made to Miami airtel dated 6/4/65.

[redacted] b1

Copy of instant communication is attached for the Miami office.

1cc to Miami by R/S 7-9-66

Class retained by 1482 SJM/AB 2/8/78

Classified by [redacted]
Exempt from [redacted]
Date of [redacted]

5 - Bureau (Encs 3)(RM)
(1 - Miami (100-35128)
(1 - Liaison direct)
1 - Ottawa
MLI/pcn
(6)

ENCLOSURE

Pg 1 para 2 and complete encl 100-439048-399

REC-63

4 JUL 8 1965

A I R T E L

CONFIDENTIAL

1cc 810 RB

INT. SEC.

C. C. Wick

CONFIDENTIAL MATERIAL ATTACHED

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

51 JUL 2 1965 Special Agent in Charge

100-439048-400

CHANGED TO

100-439048-32-2K

AUG 5 1971

M H Smith

4-528

100-437048-401

CHANGED TO

100-439048-26-5

MAR 23 1967

JU-mt / RR-Dmd

100-439048-402, 403

CHANGED TO

100-439048-2-X

100-439048-27-1X1

AUG 5 1971

M H [illegible]

100-439048-404.405.406.407

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100-439048-37-7
100-439048-42-3
100-439048-23-3
100-439048-25-6

MAR 23 1967

JW-mt / RD-DmD

C

[redacted] b7C

July 9, 1965

J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

~~The Students~~ for a Democratic Society (SDS) is attempting to organize on the campus of the University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

A group of students (not organized) is concerned about this organization. We would like to know the origins, leaders, activities, affiliations, etc. of the SDS, especially their Communist affiliations.

I am enclosing an article from the Lexington Herald Leader (July 8) about the SDS activities at the University of Kentucky. As you will note, Bill Sherer, a research assistant in the Dept. ~~of Behavioral~~ Sciences, and Robert Frampton, a math graduate student, are the campus leaders of the SDS.

If the SDS is a suspect subversive organization, or affiliated with one, an attempt will be made to keep it from gaining recognition on the University of Kentucky campus. Therefore, any information you can supply about the SDS or the above two mentioned people will be greatly appreciated.

Respectfully yours,

[redacted] b7C

[redacted]

1 - ENCLOSURE

REC-35

JUL 19 1965

CORRESP

15 Attend 'Secret' SDS Meet

Approximately 15 students attended the first actual organizational meeting of the Students for a Democratic Society Wednesday night at the University of Kentucky.

The closed session, which was designed to begin preparing a constitution and to organize for campus recognition, was held without incident, as the time and place was kept secret.

Robert Frampton, a graduate student in the Department of Mathematics, was elected acting secretary and chairman until a constitution can be written.

Bill Sherer, a research assistant in the Department of Behavioral Sciences at the Medical Center, said there was no trouble at the meeting. This

See SDS, Page 12

SDS

(Continued From Page 1)

was in contrast to last week's open meeting when the picketing protesting the organization outnumbered the members.

Teach-in plans, which were announced as the original purpose of the organization's June 29 meeting, have been side-lined for the present. According to Sherer, they will be made at a later date, after SDS has completed its organizational plans.

Plans were not made at the meeting last week because a large group of students carrying signs favoring the United States' policy in that country and shouting questions about the purpose of SDS and who was behind it dominated the session.

At that time the opposing forces announced they would picket Wednesday night's meeting if they could find out the time and the place. A handbill was prepared entitled "Please Be Careful" which was to be distributed outside the meeting but instead was handed out all over campus.

It warned students to investigate "innocent sounding organizations" before joining them and listed 60 such organizations which have been cited in the U. S. Government publication "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications."

A spokesman for the opposition group said their plans now include gathering as much information as possible about SDS during the remainder of the summer. It is their aim to present this information to the faculty and to the Student Congress in an effort to keep the SDS from being recognized on campus.

100-439445-46

ENCLOSURE

REC-35
100-439048-408

July 14, 1965

b7c [redacted]

JUL 14 10 38 AM '65
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

[redacted] b7c

Dear [redacted]

Your letter of July 9th, with enclosure, has been received.

With respect to your inquiry, information contained in the files of the FBI must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. I trust you will understand the necessary reasons for this policy and why I am unable to comment as you suggested.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 11
JUL 14 1965
COMM-FBI

NOTE: Correspondent, Frampton and Sheer are not identifiable in Bufiles. Students for a Democratic Society is a Socialist orientated youth organization which has in recent months been active in protesting U.S. actions in Vietnam. They are presently under investigation to determine the extent of infiltration by communists and other subversive elements.

DFC:plr
(S) plr

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51 AUG 3 1965 TELETYPE UNIT

100-439048-409.410.411.412.413

CHANGED TO

100-439048-54-2
100-439048-5-10
100-439048-40-3
100-439048-43-6
100-439048-23-2

JH-mt. 1 [illegible]

100-439048-414, 415

CHANGED TO

100-439048-54-2X

100-439048-45-17X1

AUG 5 1971

M.H. Smith

4-528

100-439048- 416, 417, 418, 419

CHANGED TO

100-439048-35-5
100-439048-26-6
100-439048- 15-11
100-439048-53-9

MAR 23 1967

[illegible]

100-439048-420

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100-439048-45-17K

AUG 5 1971

4-528

100-439048-421, 422, 423, 424

CHANGED TO

100-439048-25-7
100-439048-3-10
100-439048-53-10
100-439048-36-2

MAR 23 1967

[illegible]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach DATE: 7-9-65

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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[redacted] b7c

Enclosed is a blind memorandum which has been prepared based on information reported by several sources who attended the recent national convention of Students For a Democratic Society. Since this convention was a public gathering, there is no danger of our compromising our sources by the public disclosure of this information.

The enclosed memorandum was prepared specifically for distribution to a few of our close and trusted contacts among various news media, particularly people like [redacted] and [redacted] b7c

In May of 1965, SA [redacted] b7c called on Senator Gale W. McGee (D-Wyoming) and briefed him regarding Communist Party activities with respect to the Vietnam situation. The Senator, who holds a Ph.D. degree and is a former college professor, expressed particular interest in student and educator involvement in such activities and requested that we furnish him any additional information along this line which he might use in his efforts to combat communist and radical elements among students and educators. It is felt that the enclosed blind memorandum would be most appropriate to furnish Senator McGee.

REC-10 12 JUL 23 1965

RECOMMENDATION:

That the enclosed blind memorandum be approved for distribution to our close contacts in the news media field and to Senator McGee. This will be furnished to them in confidence with no attribution to the FBI.

Enclosure

1 ENCLOSURE

1 - Mr. Belmont - Enclosure
1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure

DWB:sas (6)

51 JUL 29 1965

CRIME RESEARCH

July 9, 1965

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is the successor to the Intercollegiate Socialist Society which was founded in 1905. SDS has grown from approximately 200 members in 1960 to a claimed membership of 2,000 in 70 chapters at the present time. According to an article on January 9, 1965, in the "National Guardian," a publication which has been described by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as "a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia," SDS "are the largest student organization on the left, followed by the recently organized DuBois group which claims about 800 members." (The W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America is a communist youth organization.)

The SDS constitution describes the group as composed of "liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty," united to work toward a society in which "the people have control of the decisions which affect them and the resources on which they are dependent." SDS organized and co-ordinated the April 17, 1965, march from the White House to the Capitol in Washington, D. C., to protest U. S. involvement in Vietnam.

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DWB:kjb (8)

NOTE: See M. A. Jones to DeLoach Memo dated 7-9-65, captioned "Students For A Democratic Society."

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE

100-437548-425

SDS recently moved its national headquarters from 119 Fifth Avenue in New York City to 1103 East 63rd Street, Chicago, Illinois.

From June 9 through 13, 1965, some 250 delegates participated in a National SDS Convention at Camp Maplehurst, Kewadin, Michigan, SDS reportedly rented the entire camp for $5,000.

Facilities used included eight unheated cabins with five to eight bunks in each. Four heated cabins were reserved for representatives of the press, discussion leaders and other guests. All facilities, including cabins and bathrooms, were coed, there being no discrimination with regard to race, sex or creed. This particular arrangement drew protests from a few delegates who termed it the work of "anarchists."

The camp facilities were described as filthy but befitting the delegates, the majority of whom went barefoot, unshaven and dirty and generally presented an unkempt appearance.

Among the universities and colleges reportedly represented by students attending the convention were the following:

University of California, Berkeley
Pennsylvania State University
University of Texas
Vanderbilt University
Amherst College
University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee
Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia
Florida State University
University of Florida
University of Michigan
Michigan State
Two Canadian Universities
University of Wisconsin
University of Oklahoma
Queens College

Columbia University
Harvard University
Goddard College, Vermont
Boston College
University of Chicago
Wayne State University, Detroit
Long Island University, New York
Northwestern University
Northeastern University, Boston
Loyola, New Orleans, Louisiana
University of California, Los Angeles
Washington State University

New Officers Elected

Carl Ogelsby of Ann Arbor, Michigan, was elected President of SDS. Ogelsby is a graduate of the University of Michigan who, until recently, was employed by Bendix Corporation. Ogelsby was a participant in the "National Teach-in on the Vietnam War" held on May 15, 1965, in Washington, D. C., being listed among the "opposition resource people" on the program for this teach-in. Ogelsby has been described as a tall individual who wears a beard in the traditional custom of most SDS members.

Jeffrey Dugardyn Shero, aged 22, a former student at the University of Texas, was elected Vice President. Shero has attended Texas A and M, Sam Houston State Teachers College, the University of North Dakota, and the University of Texas. He was placed on scholastic probation at the University of Texas in February, 1963, and was dropped for scholastic reasons in February, 1964, until June, 1964. He allegedly withdrew from a Texas college because he believed in "all-out integration" and the school did not approve of integration.

In April and May, 1965, Shero was a leader of an integration demonstration at Roy's Lounge in Austin, Texas. The demonstration apparently was sponsored jointly by the University of Texas students Inter-Racial Committee and SDS. One Jeffrey Shero was listed in an advertisement published in May, 1964, in the "New York Herald Tribune" among people who stated in essence that they should not be asked to fight against the people of Vietnam and would refuse to do so.

Proposals Made At The Convention

A. Peace

William Wheeler Bunge, Jr., a professor at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, directed a workshop at the SDS Convention on June 10th. He proposed a massive "peace movement." He said the Negro people in the South "were the power base for this revolution," and asserted the civil rights movement has redeemed the "churches and clergy." He suggested Detroit as a center for the peace movement which he described as "more powerful, more dangerous than the civil rights movement." He said "universities can provide the power base."

Bunge declared the United States is beginning "to sound like Hitler with all our super weapons." He asserted we do not have a democracy -- that the "military controls it," but asserted "the real power lies within the people."

Bunge proposed "chain-ins and sit-ins at major thoroughfares." He said "just [illegible] the living Jesus out of people; ride up and down elevators talking about [illegible]." During his appearance before the SDS Convention, Bunge distributed copies of "Labor Today," a bimonthly communist trade union magazine published in Detroit.

B. Change of Name

Alan Haber, one of the founders of SDS and a former President, suggested SDS be incorporated into "a Movement for a Democratic Society which would include as members everyone who has had some orientation in SDS." He said this could include "radical doctors, students, journalists and laborers" who could be used in an organization which "we, as students, can feed into and relate to." Haber said two main problems for SDS are what members do with themselves after meetings and what they do after graduation.

Shero also spoke on the idea of creating a Movement for a Democratic Society which he said would "establish SDS chapters with the people we are working with." He suggested organizing independent unions consisting of social workers, teachers and the like. He pointed out these people are being lost when they leave college.

C. March On Washington

The major plan of this proposal would be to organize a march on the Pentagon, Central Intelligence Agency Headquarters, and the State Department and possibly the Department of Justice. Separate groups would simultaneously

converge on these buildings and picket them with the exception of those marching on the Central Intelligence Agency, where they would be instructed to break rank, attempt to climb the fence around the building and enter the offices.

D. Emergency Crisis Program

SDS member Paul Booth proposed an emergency crisis program to completely "tie-up" everything in Washington, D. C. His plan called for people lying down in front of police and fire stations, stalling cars on expressways and having people dangle over expressways from over-passes. Between two and three thousand volunteers would be needed to guarantee success of this program. This idea evoked some criticism from SDS delegates and the general feeling appeared to be that it should not be employed unless the U. S. bombed Hanoi or seriously escalated the Vietnam war.

E. White House and LBJ Ranch Demonstration

Another proposal made at the convention called for a "fast-in" at the White House and the LBJ Ranch. Participants would be allowed liquids but no food and would be asked to remain on continuous picket duty until they fell from exhaustion and required hospitalization. Delegates agreed this program should not be limited solely to SDS sponsorship and that other students should be solicited to avoid the press referring to it as the work of "silly students." Advocates of the proposal suggested that beatnik-type

students not participate and that clean-cut, "girl-next-door-type" students be used. (This restriction would eliminate virtually all delegates to the SDS convention.) The proposal generated considerable enthusiasm particularly on the part of the large Texas delegation which reported previous demonstrations at the LBJ Ranch had been very annoying to the President.

F. Sit-in on the White House Lawn

A proposal for a sit-in on the White House lawn was made by George Clark, a representative of two pacifist organizations in Great Britain. He suggested SDS cosponsor the sit-in with other organizations and felt the participants should be persons prominent in literature and the arts rather than students.

G. International Tribunal

Clark also proposed the establishment of an international tribunal composed of world leaders to investigate the war in Vietnam and conduct inquiries in all countries of the world to ascertain how the people feel about U.S. action in Vietnam. Certain members of the tribunal then would be designated to make a lecture tour of the U.S. to discuss the Vietnam war, particularly on college campuses. The proposed tribunal would complete its activities in September and present the results of its work to the United Nations with national television coverage.

H. National Referendum

A national referendum sponsored by SDS concerning U.S. policy in Vietnam was proposed. This would be patterned after a local referendum planned in Oakland, California.

I. Canadian Boycott

Shalow Lappin, a member of the Canadian Student Union Peace Association, proposed SDS go on record as supporting a Canadian boycott of all United States imports to protest U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Lappin admitted the boycott would be ineffectual but would publicize Canadian disagreement with the U.S. policy.

J. Kissinger Plan

This proposal was named after its originator, SDS National Secretary Clark Kissinger. It was also referred to as "Kissinger's Kamikaze." He termed his plan a deliberate attempt to force a political trial which would disclose the political issues of the Vietnam war and related issues.

Kissinger advocated that SDS members deliberately violate the Espionage Act of 1917, certain parts of the Military Code of Justice and certain provisions of the Smith Act. He specifically advocated that members enter U.S. military bases and distribute leaflets to demoralized service men and urge service men to desert or adopt other means to avoid participating in the Vietnam war. Kissinger stated this must be a massive violation to insure a political trial which will force the U.S. to defend its "immoral acts in Vietnam."

The plan generated considerable discussion and a few honest remarks from delegates to the effect that they did not cherish the thought of spending the rest of their lives in a Federal prison. One student commented, "I can answer your question as to what SDS members do after graduation--they go to jail."

Other Organizations Represented

A number of organizations of the "left" were represented by delegates at the SDS convention. Among these were: the Young Socialist Alliance, a youth group of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party which has been designated by the Department of Justice as a subversive organization; the Communist Party, USA; the Spartacists, a Trotskyite organization; the Progressive Labor Party, a Marxist-Leninist group oriented toward Communist China; and the May 2nd Movement, a front of the Progressive Labor Party.

One of the Spartacist delegates stated that the May 2nd Movement and Progressive Labor Party actually were trying to enlist recruits to go to Vietnam and fight the Americans. These groups reportedly were giving guerilla training and instructions in how to make Molotov cocktails and other explosives each night during the convention in one of the cabins. One of the May 2nd Movement delegates declared that his organization's main emphasis now is on "getting the American imperialists out of Vietnam." Asked if he wanted to go to Vietnam and fight with the Viet Cong, he replied, "Not yet." This same individual termed SDS "poorly organized" and "too slow to react."

The Spartacists were quite active in efforts to recruit new members. Their representatives claim a current active membership of 70 from a beginning of only 17.

Quotable Quotes

Following are some direct quotes taken from statements passed around among SDS delegates, from speeches made at the convention and from comments made by delegates.

"When we have this Utopia where everybody only works two hours a day the process of redistribution of power and economy will take care of themselves."

"The capitalist system as such is an economic, political and social matrix which affects the entire community."

"Identify the enemy, the power structure, and make it real and have people understand this is the real problem - the power structure."

"I don't think Marx spent 20 years studying capitalism just to find out when it was going to change. He did this to actually understand what was going on within the system of capitalism."

"A person will not join SDS if the rest of his brothers are not looking for a change. The Negroes are going to come to this movement for a different reason than the white workers."

"Withdrawal of troops in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic will not solve the question of American aggression. Our attitude toward the Democratic Party is that it cannot be reformed nor can society be reformed. We look upon the Democratic Party as responsible for most of the social evils in this nation. We must channel off students in society before they become disillusioned and cynics."

"All the problems of the system cannot be solved as long as the system remains. We don't feel the entire pattern of social evils which exists can be reformed away...we are a socialist youth organ and consider ourselves a revolutionary organization whose members do not believe society can be reformed as it presently exists."

"We are working toward its change through the principles of Marx and Lenin but we don't see ourselves as bringing about this change... we see this coming through the Negroes and working class."

"People want to know if it is possible for the American government to make a decision overseas which we could officially endorse. People want to know and discuss International communism."--SDS President Carl Ogelsby.

"I propose a massive and organized violation of the Espionage Act of 1917 which makes it illegal to urge soldiers to desert or to jeopardize the war effort in any way." --SDS National Secretary Clark Kissinger.

Recent SDS Activities

On June 24, 1965, the Chicago Police Department arrested 13 SDS staff members in a Chicago apartment on the complaint of the mother of a member of the group. All 13 were living in the one apartment. They claimed to be members of Jobs or Income Now, a group affiliated with SDS. Police described the apartment as filthy and littered with beer cans. Forty pills, believed to be barbiturates, were found in the apartment. Ages of the individuals arrested ranged from 17 to 23. The eldest and his wife, who leased the apartment, were charged with keeping a disorderly house, possession of dangerous drugs and contributing to the delinquency of minors.

100-439048-426, 427

CHANGED TO

100-439048-53-11
100-439048-5-11

MAR 23 1967

[illegible]

4-528

100-439048-428

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100-439048-34-2X8

AUG 5 1971

[illegible]

100-439048- 429

CHANGED TO

100-439048- 47- 6

[illegible]

[illegible]

643 (12-14-64)

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☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☑ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

3:00 AM CDST 7-4-65 URGENT RLW

TO DIRECTOR, NEW YORK, WASHINGTON FIELD, CLEVELAND, AND DETROIT

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON--ENCODED

FROM CHICAGO 040240

b7C

COMINFIL STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IS-C. [redacted]

b7D

IN LATE JUNE, LAST [redacted] LEARNED CLARK OGLESBY, NEW SDS PRESIDENT, WOULD GO ON ALL EXPENSE PAID "TEACH-IN" TYPE JUNKET TO PARIS, ALGIERS AND SAIGON. ALSO PAUL POTTER IN CLEVELAND HAD RECEIVED INVITATION APPARENTLY FROM HOLLAND ROBERTS AT WORLD PEACE COUNCIL, 90 MC ALLISTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, TO GO AS SDS REPRESENTATIVE ON A FIVE DAY ALL EXPENSE PAID JUNKET TO INTERNATIONAL WORLD COMMUNIST PEACE CONGRESS, HELSINKI, FINLAND, DURING MIDDLE OF JULY, NEXT. POTTER SINCE HE IS NO LONGER SDS PRESIDENT WAS UNDECIDED ON GOING. (C)(U)

b7D LATER [redacted] CONFIRMED OGLESBY WOULD MAKE SAIGON TRIP. HE MAY ALSO GO TO TOKYO IF HE GETS WORD FROM UNDISCLOSED SOURCES WHILE IN SAIGON. OGLESBY WILL RETURN TO HOME IN ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, THIS WEEKEND, BEFORE LEAVING FROM DETROIT. (C)(U)

JUST WHO MAY BE MAKING THE HELSINKI TRIP, IF NOT POTTER, IS PRESENTLY UNKNOWN TO [redacted].

b7D

[redacted]

b7C

REC 25 100-439048-

2 CC: WASHINGTON FIELD

JUL 26 1965

JUL 29 1965

DECLASSIFIED BY 1259 ON 10-25-78 SSP/BTS

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CLASSIFIED BY 1402 2/8/78 EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE pg 1 para 1, 2

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PAGE 2, FROM CHICAGO 040240

b7c

[redacted]

DURING RECENT INTERVIEW SDS NATIONAL OFFICER TOLD REPORTER FROM WELL KNOWN U. S. MAGAZINE THAT SDS HAS NO INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS BUT HOPES TO ESTABLISH SUCH IN NEAR FUTURE.

WFO CHECK FOR ANY RECENT PASSPORT ISSUED TO PAUL POTTER POSSIBLY OBTAINED IN CLEVELAND OR NEW YORK INDICATING DATES HE MAY BE GOING TO HELSINKI.

ALL OFFICES KEEP BUREAU AND CHICAGO ADVISED OF ANY INFORMATION REGARDING ABOVE. LHM FOLLOWS.

RECEIVED: 4:27 AM LRC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

100-439048-431

CHANGED TO

100-439048-19-23

[illegible]

[illegible]

100-434048-432

CHANGED TO

100-434048-15-11x

AUG 5 1971

M H [illegible]

100-439048-433, 434

CHANGED TO

100-439048-6-8
100-439048-26-7

MAR 2 [illegible] 1967

JW-mt. / [illegible]

ORIGINAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 7-26-65

FROM: M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: [redacted] b7C

b7C While contacting [redacted] on 7-22-65 on another matter, [redacted] advised [redacted] that the communists are recruiting an international brigade, similar to the old Abraham Lincoln Brigade which fought in Spain, to fight for the communists in North Vietnam. His source advised that there are some Americans now being trained in this brigade [redacted] hoped to break the story soon but is desirous of more information and wondered if we might have anything we could furnish him. [redacted] also has learned from a source at the Passport Office that Martin Luther King has applied for a passport to go to Africa in August and [redacted] wondered if we might be able to tell him when and where King was going and the purpose of the trip. It is noted that there was a small news item several days ago in one of the local newspapers to the effect that King was planning a trip to South Africa if he could obtain a visa.

b7D

With regard to the forming of an international brigade to fight for the communists in North Vietnam, it was pointed out in the June 30, 1965, "Current Intelligence Analysis" that, at the recent convention of "Students For a Democratic Society," practically every subversive organization in the United States was represented. Included was the Progressive Labor Party, a Marxist-Leninist organization following the line of communist China, and the May 2nd Movement, a Progressive Labor Party front group. It was said that these two organizations' representatives were at the national convention of the Students For a Democratic Society to try to enlist recruits to fight Americans in Vietnam and were giving guerilla training every night at the convention. Delegates in one of the cabins were taught to make Molotov cocktails and other explosives.

100-439000

NOT RECORDED

In this connection, Conrad Lynn, a New York lawyer who is a communist who represented Dr. Pedro Albiqu Campos before the courts of Puerto Rico, reportedly made the statement in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on 4-28-65, that individuals from New York, Boston, Detroit and Los Angeles are "leaving as volunteers of the international brigade to be organized in North Vietnam to fight against United States' imperialism." Lynn referred to these individuals as "black militants" from Northern Ghettoes. We presented the matter to the Department as possibly a misprision of

1 - Mr. DeLoach

SENT DIRECTOR 7-27-65

Continued on next page...

66 AUG 16 1965

ORIGINAL FILED

treason case on the part of Lynn, but the Department did not consider Lynn's statements to be sufficient to sustain prosecution for a violation of this statute. Investigation is being conducted regarding the possibility of individuals enlisting in the North Vietnamese Army.

One source stated that on page 31 of the April 28, 1965, issue of "El Imparcial," a Spanish language daily newspaper published in San Juan, there appeared comments regarding volunteers going to Vietnam which were attributed to Lynn. The article was entitled "Lynn Says Negroes of the United States Will Fight in Favor of North Vietnam. (61-11580; 61-11581)

With regard to Martin Luther King's trip to Africa, we do not have anything definite; however, the date of departure is tentatively set for September 6, 1965, and he is planning to go to Accra, Ghana, to attend the Conference on the Organization of African Unity. We understand that King would also like to go to South Africa but he doubts if he can get a visa.

RECOMMENDATION:

b7D

That someone in your (Mr. DeLoach's) office contact [redacted] who is a good friend and on the Special Correspondents' List, and inform him of the news item regarding Conrad Lynn's statements that Americans are volunteering to serve in the North Vietnam Army and that the Progressive Labor Movement has indicated interest in recruiting volunteers. Also, inform Allen of Martin Luther King's tentative plans. This, of course, can be done on a confidential basis with [redacted]

4-5a

100-439048-435, 436

CHANGED TO

100-439048-45-17X2,
100-439048-53-11X

AUG 5 1971

MH [illegible]

4-528

100-439048- 437

CHANGED TO

100-439048-45-17

MAR 23 1967

[illegible]

4 (Rev. 1-4-67)

UDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY 100-439048
(SUBJECT) (FILE NO.)

LL SERIALS, EXCEPT THOSE REMAINING IN FILE AND THOSE LISTED AS CHANGED ON THIS SHEET WERE "SKIPPED" OR ERE REMOVED FROM FILE AND DESTROYED IN ACCORDANCE WITH AUTHORITY CONTAINED IN 66-3286-891

100-439048-438 c/ah 9/10/69

(TAB CARD IN THE NUMBERING UNIT INDICATES ACTION TAKEN)

DATE

INITIALS

4-528

AD-431048-439

CHANGED TO

AD-431048-10-12

MAR 23 1967

438 [illegible] 3-19-70

4-312 (Rev. 1-16-62)

Date of Mail 7-20-65

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject JUNE MAIL Committee. Students for a Democratic Society

Removed By 65 AUG 5 1965

File Number 100-439048-440

Permanent Serial Charge Out

100-439048-441, 442, 443

CHANGED TO

100-439048-33-2
100-439048-6-9
100-439048-11-5

MAR 23 1967

4-3 (Rev. 12-14-64)

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☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

10:15 PM CDST URGENT 8-1-65 DRS
TO DIRECTOR
FROM CHICAGO 020237

COMINFIL, STUDENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS); IS-C.

[redacted]

RE CHICAGO TEL JULY 31, LAST.

TEN YOUTHS OBSERVED AUGUST 1, INSTANT, AT NORTH AVE. BEACH DISCUSSING CALLING OFF PROPOSED DEMONSTRATIONS DUE TO BAD WEATHER. GROUP DISBANDED 2:10 PM. THEREAFTER, FIVE OF SAID YOUTHS OBSERVED BETWEEN 6:30 PM AND 8:30 PM IN VICINITY NORTH AVE. AND WELLS STREET, CHICAGO, KNOWN AS OLD TOWN AREA, DISTRIBUTING LEAFLETS OPPOSING U. S. ACTION IN VIET NAM. NO VIOLENCE OBSERVED. LHM FOLLOWS.

RECEIVED: 11:21 PM LRC

REC-116

100-439000

8 AUG 3 1965

ICC 810RB

70 AUG 11 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

4-J (Rev. 12-14-64)

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☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

7:12 PM CDST URGENT 7-31-65 DRS
TO DIRECTOR
FROM CHICAGO 312319

COMINFIL, STUDENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS): IS-C.

b7c

REMYTEL TODAY.

FOUR YOUTHS OBSERVED WITH ONE MIDDLE AGED WOMAN AND TWO OR THREE OTHERS AT VARIOUS TIMES VICINITY FEDERAL BUILDING, CHICAGO, JULY 31 INSTANT NOON TO 3:30 PM WITH PICKET SIGNS AND BOX OBVIOUSLY CONTAINING LITERATURE. NO DISTRIBUTION AND NO PICKETING OCCURRED APPARENTLY DUE TO RAIN, FAILURE OF ADDITIONAL PICKETS TO ARRIVE AND TO LACK OF AUDIENCE. INDIVIDUALS DISPERSED APPROXIMATELY 3:30, TODAY. LHM FOLLOWS.

RECEIVED: 8:18 PM RTS

O-1 to WFO to advise status 11-2-65
O.C. to advise status, Subst immed. 11-2-65
St. L. to advise when ltr. will be submitted 11-2-65

REC-116

100-

AUG 3 1965

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70 AUG 11 1965

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IM-439048-446

CHANGED TO

IM-439048-30-8

J.H. Mt. [illegible]

(Rev. 12-14-64)

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☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

2:10 AM CDST URGENT 7-31-65 EH
TO DIRECTOR
FROM CHICAGO 310556

COMINFIL, STUDENTS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS); IS-C.

b7D

[redacted] ADVISED JULY 30, 1965, OAK PARK, ILL., SDS GROUP WOULD HOLD SOAP BOX, "SPEAK OUT," PICKETING TYPE DEMONSTRATION ON VIET NAM AT FEDERAL BUILDING, CHICAGO, JULY 31, INSTANT, AT 10 AM. ALSO AUGUST 1, NEXT, SDS PLANS PICKETING AND "SOAP BOX" TYPE DEMONSTRATION AT NORTH AVE. BEACH, CHICAGO, NOON TO 4 PM. SIZE OF GROUPS INVOLVED NOT STATED.

DEMONSTRATIONS WILL BE COVERED.

CHICAGO PD, FEDERAL BUILDING CUSTODIANS, MILITARY AND SECRET SERVICE ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS.

RECEIVED: 3:33 AM LRC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

REC- 62 / 100

EX 105

AUG 9 1965

CC Baumgardner

55 AUG 9 1965

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

100-439048-448. 449. 450

CHANGED TO

100-439048-6-10
100-439048-8-3
100-439048-45-7

MAR 23 1967

[illegible]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr.

DATE: 7/30/65

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM : Mr. S. J. Papich

[redacted]

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C[redacted]

Mrs. Jane Roman, CIA, furnished the following to the Liaison Agent on 7/29/65. (A)(U)

[redacted] a meeting of the Women's Strike for Peace held on 7/23/65 at Hurst Hall, American University, Washington, D. C. One of the speakers was Mrs. Nancy Gitlin, a graduate of the University of Michigan, who was one of ten American women who recently travelled to Indonesia to meet with the South Vietnamese Liberation Front and with women from North Vietnam. [redacted] Mrs. Gitlin announced that SDS was organizing an international teach-in to be stationed in Toronto, Canada on 10/15/65. Gitlin further indicated that SDS would be organizing student strikes across the U. S. and that such activity would begin at the University of California, Berkeley, California. (A)

Mrs. Roman made available the enclosed copies of literature which was passed out at the above-described meeting.

[redacted]

(C) Classified by [illegible]

ACTION:

The above information and enclosures are being directed to the attention of the Internal Security Section.

Enclosures

1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Papich
SJP:chs
(4)

ENCLOSURE

SEC 1

[redacted] 100-[illegible]

ST-117

AUG 5 1965

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

CLASSIFIED BY [illegible]

para marked A otherwise U

class upheld 10-[illegible]-78 JJP/[illegible]

CONFIDENTIAL

...not if we continue our present policies

This is what we have done!

Started bombing North Vietnam to prevent infiltration of supplies and men from the North to the Viet Cong in the South. Continued bombing North Vietnam to bring them to the conference table.

This is the result

The Viet Cong now have more men and supplies than ever before.

The North Vietnamese Government, which prior to the bombing had indicated a willingness to negotiate, now will not even consider negotiations.

What does the military now propose?

More planes
More bombs
More American boys
785 in 1960
70,000 at present
100,000 by the end of summer?
300,000 by the end of 1965?
1,000,000 by the end of next year?

Results

A land war in Asia?

A land war in Asia will be a "bottomless morass"—so say many American military strategists, (The Washington Post, July 18, 1965)

A nuclear war?

there is another way!

(1) We must agree to negotiate with the Viet Cong.

We have expressed a willingness to negotiate with Russia, China, and North Vietnam—but we are not fighting Russia, China, and North Vietnam.

(2) We must stop the Bombing of North Vietnam.

We cannot honestly speak of our peaceful intentions while we at at the same time are relentlessly bombing a defenseless people. Our bombing of the North Vietnamese is not an air war but a massacre unworthy of our nation.

(3) The South Vietnamese have a right just as all people do to a government of their own choosing even if they choose to include communists in that government.

We are not the world's policemen and we cannot dictate to others their choice of government.

(4) There must be no foreign intervention in Vietnam including our own.

This was provided by the Geneva Agreement of 1954. We should call for a return to that Agreement, but we must first show our willingness to abide by that Agreement before we can ask others to do so.

yes! we can end the war in Vietnam!

You must do your part! Time is running out!

[redacted]

Join the millions of concerned Americans:

Write to the President Lyndon B. Johnson, White House

Write to your Senators

Maryland:	Sen. Daniel B. Brewster 240 Old Senate Office Building Washington, D.C., 20515	Sen. Joseph D. Tydings Senate Office Building Washington, D.C., 20515
Virginia:	Sen. Harry Flood Byrd 209 Old Senate Office Building Washington, D.C., 20515	Sen. A. Willis Robertson 5241 New Senate Office Building Washington, D.C., 20515

Write to Sen. William J. Fulbright
Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C., 20515

telling them to stop the bombing, to negotiate with the Viet Cong and to call for an end to all foreign intervention in Vietnam.

[redacted]

"Letters have an effect on members of Congress. Everybody's vote ..counts in America, but those who sit down and write letters make their votes count more times." John E. Kennedy

[redacted] For further information contact the Washington Area Committee on Vietnam,
2111 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. July 1965

WE DECLARE PEACE

CALL FOR AN ASSEMBLY OF UNREPRESENTED PEOPLE
IN WASHINGTON, D.C., ON AUGUST 6 THROUGH 9

"I like to believe that the people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than our governments. I think the people want peace so much that one of these days government had better get out of their way and let them have it."

-- President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Aug. 31, 1959

In Missicsippi and Washington the few make the decisions for the many. Mississippi Negroes are denied the vote; the voice of the thirty per cent of Americans now opposed to the undeclared war in Vietnam is not heeded and all Americans are denied access to facts concerning the true military and political situation. We must make it plain to the Administration that we will not be accomplices to a war that we did not declare. There can be no doubt that the great majority of the people of the world do not approve of the presence of American troops in Vietnam We who will come to Washington on August 6-9 can not in any sense represent this majority, but we can let our voices be heard in a symbolic Assembly of UnRepresented People to Declare Peace.

August 6 is the twentieth anniversary of the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima; August 9 is the anniversary of the Nagasaki bomb. Therefore, we choose August 6,7,8, and 9 for a new attempt to draw together the voices of nonviolent protest in America; not only those who have for so long been calling for an end to the Cold War, but also those whose protests focus on racial injustice, inquisition by Congressional committees, inequities in labor legislation, the mishandling of anti-poverty and welfare funds and the absence of democratic process on the local level. We invite not only those now active in organized protest but ministers, members of the academic community, teachers, women professional people, students, people from the newly formed community groups in slums and rural areas, industrial workers, anyone who wishes to symbolically withdraw his support from the war and who wishes to explore the possibilities of inter-action inherent in this community of concerned people.

Briefly, the activities of the four days will be as follows:

August 6: A demonstration at the White House concentrating around a "Declaration of Conscience" that has already received over 6,000 signatures; it declares the signers' complete refusal to assist in the carrying out of the undeclared war in Vietnam. Those of the signers who can come to Washington will constitute the core of the demonstration; non-signers will be welcomed in the supporting picket line. The Declaration has been sponsored and circulated by the Committee for Nonviolent Action, War Resistors League, Student Peace Union and the Catholic Worker. These groups will therefore have full responsibility for the conduct of this aspect of the four-day assembly. There may be non-violent civil disobedience by a small number of the signers who will seek to present the Declaration to the President.

****

August 7 and 8 will be the heart of the Assembly of Unrepresented People. They will be devoted to workships, probably carried out in the open on the grass surrounding the Washington Monument.

****

August 7:(Program Workshops) The Assembly will divide itself according to the section of the protest movement which claims the greatest attention of each individual.

There will be groupings of community people and staff who have been working at the local level on organizing the poor to have a voice in the lives of their communities and in the administration of the federal anti-poverty funds.

There will be another grouping of people whose interest and work centers on the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's attempt to have Congress unseat the five improperly elected representatives from their state.

There will still be other groupings to discuss the recent threats of destructive investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee of elements of both the peace and civil rights movements.

451

We hope that there will also be present representative groupings from the ranks of organized labor to discuss labor's attempt to have repealed the so-called "right-to-work law" provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

There will also be workshops of people concerned with Free Universities and the new Student Unions

Additional workshops on other aspects of non-violent direct action will be schedualed to meet the interests of those present.

August 8: (Vietnam Constituency Workshops) There will be workshops of ministers, teachers, members of the academic community, women, professional people, students, people from local communities, union members and other "constituency groupings" to plan how they can work in the summer and through the year to stop the war.

A Declaration of Peace drawn up by the initiators of the demonstration will be circulated in the workshops for use on the 9th.

August 9: (Governments had better get out of their way and let them have it.") Those members of the Assembly of Unrepresented People in a position to face possible arrest and willing to pledge themselves to nonviolent behavior during the course of the demonstration will assemble and walk toward the Capitol with the intention of convening the Assembly in the chamber of the House of Representatives, and thus deny that Congress had the right to declare war in our names. If stopped along the way we will sit down and declare the Assembly of Unrepresented People in session. One of the group will rise and begin to read the Declaration of Peace circulated in the workshops on the 8th. If, as seems likely, the person reading is arrested before the Declaration is fully read, another person will rise and continue the reading. The Assembly will be open to the reading of additional declarations of peace that individuals or representatives of organizations may bring with them. We hope that this demonstration will serve as a symbol of the desire of the people of the world to express their opposition to the Vietnam War in a democratic fashion.

To implement this plan, we suggest that one focus for community organization between now and August 6 be discussion of what the government should do in Vietnam. The results of these discussions could be embodied in declarations of peace which representatives would bring to Washington. Some groups, particularly those farthest away from Washington, may want to create assemblies at state capitals and city councils on August 9.

Preparation for the Assembly will be coordinated at 107 Rhode Island Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. Before and after the Assembly related activities will go on in Washington concerning Vietnam, FDP, 14-B, HUAC, and community organization. Volunteers are urgently needed. We can probably provide free housing.

Norma Becker	Stephen Amdur	Sandra Adickes
Bob Swann	Eric Weinberger	Francis H. Mitchell
Donna Allen	Walter M. Tillow	John Porcelli
Bob Parris	Carl Oglesby	William Hartsog
Mel McDonald	Ed Harlett	Barbara Deming
Carl Bloice	Jeffrey Gordon	Mark Smith
Peter Kellman	Jimmy Garrett	Staughton Lynd
Barry Weisberg	Courtland Cox	Dennis Sweeney
Dena Clamager	Dave Dellinger	Russ Nixon
Steve Weissman	Ray Raphael	Florence Howe
	Donna Richards	Paul Lauter

Address correspondence to Eric Weinberger or Bob Parris, 107 Rhode Island Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C.

(A few dollars are needed for office expenses. Checks should be made payable to Washington Summer Action. Thank you.)

departure of individual personnel as authorized above, at the points of entry enumerated in Article 20 below.

Article 17

(a) With effect from the date of entry into force of the present Agreement, the introduction into Viet-Nam of any reinforcements in the form of all types of arms, munitions and other war material, such as combat aircraft, naval craft, pieces of ordnance, jet engines and jet weapons and armoured vehicles, is prohibited.

(b) It is understood, however, that war material, arms and munitions which have been destroyed, damaged, worn out or used up after the cessation of hostilities may be replaced on the basis of piece-for-piece of the same type and with similar characteristics. Such replacements of war material, arms and munitions shall not be permitted for French Union troops stationed north of the provisional military demarcation line laid down in Article 1 of the present Agreement, during the withdrawal period provided for in Article 2.

Naval craft may perform transport operations between the regrouping zones.

(c) The war material, arms and munitions for replacement purposes provided for in paragraph (b) of this Article, shall be introduced into Viet-Nam only through the points of entry enumerated in Article 20 below. War material, arms and munitions to be replaced shall be shipped from Viet-Nam only through the points of entry enumerated in Article 20 below;

(d) Apart from the replacements permitted within the limits laid down in paragraph (b) of this Article, the introduction of war material, arms and munitions of all types in the form of unassembled parts for subsequent assembly is prohibited;

(e) Each party shall notify the Joint Commission and the International Commission at least two days in advance of any arrivals or departures which may take place of war material, arms and munitions of all types.

In order to justify the requests for the introduction into Viet-Nam of arms, munitions and other war material (as defined in paragraph (a) of this Article) for replacement purposes, a report concerning each incoming shipment shall be submitted to the Joint Commission and the International Commission. Such reports shall indicate the use made of the items so replaced.

(f) The International Commission, through its Inspection Teams, shall supervise and inspect the replacements permitted in the circumstances laid down in this Article, at the points of entry enumerated in Article 20 below.

Article 18

With effect from the date of entry into force of the present Agreement, the establishment of new military bases is prohibited throughout Viet-Nam territory.

Article 19

With effect from the date of entry into force of the present Agreement, no military base under the control of a foreign State may be established in the regrouping zone of either party; the two parties shall ensure that the zones assigned to them do not adhere to any military alliance and are not used for the resumption of hostilities or to further an aggressive policy.

Article 20

The points of entry into Viet-Nam for [illegible]tion personnel and replacements of material are fixed as follows:

—Zones to the north of the provisional military demarcation line: Laokay, Langson, Tien-Yen, Haiphong, Vinh, Dong-Hoi, Muong-Sen;

—Zone to the south of the provisional military demarcation line: Tourane, Quinhon, Nhatrang, Bangoi, Saigon, Cap St. Jacques, Tanchau.

Chapter IV—Prisoners of War and Civilian Internees

Article 21

The liberation and repatriation of all prisoners of war and civilian internees detained by each of the two parties at the coming into force of the present Agreement shall be carried out under the following conditions:

(a) All prisoners of war and civilian internees of Viet-Nam, French and other nationalities captured since the beginning of hostilities in Viet-Nam during military operations or in any other circumstances of war and in any part of the territory of Viet-Nam shall be liberated within a period of thirty (30) days after the date when the cease-fire becomes effective in each theatre.

(b) The term "civilian internees" is understood to mean all persons who, having in any way contributed to the political and armed struggle between the two parties, have been arrested for that reason and have been kept in detention by either party during the period of hostilities.

(c) All prisoners of war and civilian internees held by either party shall be surrendered to the appropriate authorities of the other party, who shall give them all possible assistance in proceeding to their country of origin, place of habitual residence or the zone of their choice.

Chapter V—Miscellaneous

Article 22

The Commanders of the Forces of the two parties shall ensure that persons under their respective commands who violate any of the provisions of the present Agreement are suitably punished.

Article 23

In cases in which the place of burial is known and the existence of graves has been established, the Commander of the Forces of either party shall, within a specific period after the entry into force of the Armistice Agreement, permit the graves service personnel of the other party to enter the part of Viet-Nam territory under their military control for the purpose of finding

political or territorial boundary. The Conference expresses its conviction that the execution of the provisions set out in the present declaration and in the agreement on the cessation of hostilities creates the necessary basis for the achievement in the near future of a political settlement in Viet-Nam.

7. The Conference declares that, so far as Viet-Nam is concerned, the settlement of political problems, effected on the basis of respect for the principles of independence, unity and territorial integrity, shall permit the Viet-Namese people to enjoy the fundamental freedoms, guaranteed by democratic institutions established as a result of free general elections by secret ballot. In order to ensure that sufficient progress in the restoration of peace has been made, and that all the necessary conditions obtain for free expression of the national will, general elections shall be held in July 1956, under the supervision of an international commission composed of representatives of the Member States of the International Supervisory Commission, referred to in the agreement on the cessation of hostilities. Consultations will be held on this subject between the competent representative aut[illegible]ties of the two zones from 20 July 1955 on[illegible]

8. The provisions of the agreements on the cessation of hostilities intended to ensure the protection of individuals and of property must be most strictly applied and must, in particular, allow everyone in Viet-Nam to decide freely in which zone he wishes to live.

9. The competent representative authorities of the Northern and Southern zones of Viet-Nam, as well as the authorities of Laos and Cambodia, must not permit any individual or collective reprisals against persons who have collaborated in any way with one of the parties during the war, or against members of such persons' families.

10. The Conference takes note of the declaration of the Government of the French Republic to the effect that it is ready to withdraw its troops from the territory of Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam, at the request of the governments concerned and within periods which shall be fixed by agreement between the parties except in the cases where, by agreement between the two parties, a certain number of French troop[illegible]hall remain as specified points" and for a sp[illegible]d time.

11. The Conference takes note of the declaration of the French Government to the effect that for the settlement of the problems connected with the re-establishment and consolidation of peace in Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam, the French Government will proceed from the principle of respect for the independence and sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam.

12. In their relations with Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam, each member of the Geneva Conference undertakes to respect the sovereignty, the independence, the unity and the territorial integrity of the above-mentioned states, and to refrain from any interference in their internal affairs.

13. The members of the Conference agree to consult one another on any question which may be referred to them by the International Supervisory Commission, in order to study such measures as may prove necessary to ensure that the agreements on the cessation of hostilities in Cambodia, Laos, and Viet-Nam are respected.

Following is the text of a statement made by Under Secretary Walter B. Smith at the concluding Indochina plenary session at Geneva on July 21.

As I stated on July 18, my Government is not prepared to join in a declaration by the Conference such as is submitted. However, the United States makes this unilateral declaration of its position in these matters:

Declaration

The Government of the United States being resolved to devote its efforts to the strengthening of peace in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations takes note of the agreements concluded at Geneva on July 20 and 21, 1954 between (a) the Franco-Laotian Command and the Command of the Peoples Army of Viet-Nam; (b) the Royal Khmer Army Command and the Command of the Peoples Army of Viet-Nam; (c) Franco-Vietnamese Command and the Command of the Peoples Army of Viet-Nam and of paragraphs 1 to 12 inclusive of the declaration presented to the Geneva Conference on July 21, 1954 declares with regard to the aforesaid agreements and paragraphs that (i) it will refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb them, in accordance with Article 2 (4) of the Charter of the United Nations dealing with the obligation of members to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force; and (ii) it would view any renewal of the aggression in violation of the aforesaid agreements with grave concern and as seriously threatening international peace and security.

In connection with the statement in the declaration concerning free elections in Viet-Nam my Government wishes to make clear its position which it has expressed in a declaration made in Washington on June 29, 1954,[2] as follows:

In the case of nations now divided against their will, we shall continue to seek to achieve unity through free elections supervised by the United Nations to insure that they are conducted fairly.

With respect to the statement made by the representative of the State of Viet-Nam, the United States reiterates its traditional position that peoples are entitled to determine their own future and that it will not join in an arrangement which would hinder this. Nothing in its declaration just made is intended to or does indicate any departure from this traditional position.

We share the hope that the agreements will permit Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam to play their part, in full independence and sovereignty, in the peaceful community of nations, and will enable the peoples of that area to determine their own future.

Issued as a public service by

WOMEN strike for PEACE

(National Information Clearing Office)

2016 P Street NW
Washington DC 20036
Telephone:
Area Code 202 232-0803

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each side of such route, but in a manner as to avoid interfering with the movements of the civil population.

Article 13

From the time of the cease-fire until the completion of the movements from one regrouping zone into the other, civil and military transport aircraft shall follow air-corridors between the provisional assembly areas assigned to the French Union forces north of the demarcation line on the one hand and the Laotian frontier and the regrouping zone assigned to the French Union forces on the other hand.

The position of the air-corridors, their width, the safety route for single-engined military aircraft transferred to the south and the search and rescue procedure for aircraft in distress shall be determined on the spot by the Trung Gia Military Commission.

Article 14

Political and administrative measures in the two regrouping zones, on either side of the provisional military demarcation line:

(a) Pending the general elections which will bring about the unification of Viet-Nam, the conduct of civil administration in each regrouping zone shall be in the hands of the party whose forces are to be regrouped there in virtue of the present Agreement;

(b) Any territory controlled by one party which is transferred to the other party by the regrouping plan shall continue to be administered by the former party until such date as all the troops who are to be transferred have completely left that territory so as to free the zone assigned to the party in question. From then on, such territory shall be regarded as transferred to the other party, who shall assume responsibility for it.

Steps shall be taken to ensure that there is no break in the transfer of responsibilities. For this purpose, adequate notice shall be given by the withdrawing party to the other party, which shall make the necessary arrangements, in particular by sending administrative and police detachments to prepare for the assumption of administrative responsibility. The length of such notice shall be determined by the Trung Gia Military Commission. The transfer shall be effected in successive stages for the various territorial sectors.

The transfer of the civil administration of Hanoi and Haiphong to the authorities of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam shall be completed within the respective time-limits laid down in Article 15 for military movements.

(c) Each party undertakes to refrain from any reprisals or discrimination against persons or organizations on account of their activities during the hostilities and to guarantee their democratic liberties.

(d) From the date of entry into force of the present Agreement until the movement of troops is completed, any civilians residing in a district controlled by one party who wish to go and live in the zone assigned to the other party shall be permitted and helped to do so by the authorities in that district.

Article 15

The disengagement of the combatants, and the withdrawals and transfers of military forces, equipment and supplies shall take place in the two parties shall be completed within three hundred (300) days, as laid down in Article 2 of the present Agreement:

(b) Within either territory successive withdrawals shall be made by sectors, portions of sectors or provinces. Transfers from one regrouping zone to another shall be made in successive monthly installments proportionate to the number of troops to be transferred;

(c) The two parties shall undertake to carry out all troop withdrawals and transfers in accordance with the aims of the present Agreement; shall permit no hostile act and shall take no step whatsoever which might hamper such withdrawals and transfers. They shall assist one another as far as this is possible;

(d) The two parties shall permit no destruction or sabotage of any public property and no injury to the life and property of the civil population. They shall permit no interference in local civil administration;

(e) The Joint Commission and the International Commission shall ensure that steps are taken to safeguard the forces in the course of withdrawal and transfer;

(f) The Trung Gia Military Commission, and later the Joint Commission, shall determine by common agreement the exact procedure for the disengagement of the combatants and for troop withdrawals and transfers, on the basis of the principles mentioned above and within the framework laid down below:

1. The disengagement of the combatants, including the concentration of the armed forces of all kinds and also each party's movements into the provisional assembly areas assigned to it and the other party's provisional withdrawal from it, shall be completed within a period not exceeding fifteen (15) days after the date when the cease-fire becomes effective.

The general delineation of the provisional assembly areas is set out in the maps annexed to the present Agreement.

In order to avoid any incidents, no troops shall be stationed less than 1,500 metres from the lines delimiting the provisional assembly areas.

During the period until the transfers are concluded, all the coastal islands west of the following lines shall be included in the Haiphong perimeter:

—meridian of the southern point of Kebao Island

—northern coast of Ile Rousse (excluding the island), extended as far as the meridian of Camphas-Mines

—meridian of Camphas-Mines.

2. The withdrawals and transfers shall be effected in the following order and within the following periods (from the date of the entry into force of the present Agreement):

Forces of the French Union

Hanoi perimeter ..... 80 days
Haidhong perimeter ..... 100 days
Haiphong perimeter ..... 300 days

Forces of the People's Army of Viet-Nam

Ham Tan and Xuyenmoc provisional assembly area ..... 80 days
Central Viet-Nam provisional assembly area—
first instalment ..... 100 days
Point Camau provisional assembly area ..... 200 days
Central Viet-Nam provisional assembly area—
last instalment ..... 300 days

CHAPTER III—BAN ON INTRODUCTION OF FRESH TROOPS, MILITARY PERSONNEL, ARMS AND MUNITIONS. MILITARY BASES

Article 16

With effect from the date of entry into force of the present Agreement, the introduction into Viet-Nam of any troop reinforcements and additional military personnel is prohibited.

It is understood, however, that the rotation of units and groups of personnel, the arrival in Viet-Nam of individual personnel on a temporary duty basis and the return to Viet-Nam of individual personnel after short periods of leave or temporary duty outside Viet-Nam shall be permitted under the conditions laid down below:

(a) Rotation of units (defined in paragraph (c) of this Article) and groups of personnel shall not be permitted for French Union troops stationed north of the provisional military demarcation line laid down in Article 1 of the present Agreement, during the withdrawal period provided for in Article 2.

However, under the heading of individual personnel not more than fifty (50) men, including officers, shall during any one month be permitted to enter that part of the country north of the provisional military demarcation line on a temporary duty basis or to return there after short periods of leave or temporary duty outside Viet-Nam.

(b) "Rotation" is defined as the replacement of units or groups of personnel by other units of the same echelon or by personnel who are arriving in Viet-Nam territory to do their overseas service there;

(c) The units rotated shall never be larger than a battalion — or the corresponding echelon for air and naval forces;

(d) Rotation shall be conducted on a man-for-man basis, provided, however, that in any one quarter neither party shall introduce more than fifteen thousand five hundred (15,500) members of its armed forces into Viet-Nam under the rotation policy;

(e) Rotation units (defined in paragraph (c) of this Article) and groups of personnel, and the individual personnel mentioned in this Article, shall enter and leave Viet-Nam only through the entry points enumerated in Article 20 below;

(f) Each party shall notify the Joint Commission and the International Commission at least two days in advance of any arrivals or departures of units, groups of personnel and individual personnel in or from Viet-Nam. Reports on the arrivals or departures of units, groups of personnel and individual personnel in or from Viet-Nam shall be submitted daily to the Joint Commission and the International Commission.

All the above-mentioned notifications and reports shall indicate the places and dates of arrival or departure and the number of persons arriving or departing.

(g) The International Commission

Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Viet-Nam

[IC/42/Rev. 2, 20 July 1954]

The Geneva Agreement on Vietnam is currently the most misrepresented international document. Inquiries by us proved that it was virtually impossible to obtain its full text from any of the usual reference sources. We have, therefore, decided to reproduce the document in its entirety. Included is the Conference's Final Declaration of July 21, 1954, as well as a U.S. Statement made at the concluding session by Under Secretary of State Walter B. Smith.

—Ed.

Chapter I—Provisional Military Demarcation Line and Demilitarized Zone

Article 1

A provisional military demarcation line shall be fixed, on either side of which the forces of the two parties shall be regrouped after their withdrawal, the forces of the People's Army of Viet-Nam to the north of the line and the forces of the French Union to the south.

The provisional military demarcation line is fixed as shown on the map attached (see Map No. 1).

It is also agreed that a demilitarized zone shall be established on either side of the demarcation line, to a width of not more than 5 kms. from it, to act as a buffer zone and avoid any incidents which might result in the resumption of hostilities.

Article 2

The period within which the movement of all the forces of either party into its regrouping zone on either side of the provisional military demarcation line shall be completed shall not exceed three hundred (300) days from the date of the present Agreement's entry into force.

Article 3

When the provisional military demarcation line coincides with a waterway, the waters of such waterway shall be open to civil navigation by both parties wherever one bank is controlled by one party and the other bank by the other party. The Joint Commission shall establish rules of navigation for the stretch of waterway in question. The merchant shipping and other civilian craft of each party shall have unrestricted access to the land under its military control.

Article 4

The provisional military demarcation line between the two final regrouping zones is extended into the territorial waters by a line perpendicular to the general line of the coast.

All coastal islands north of this boundary shall be evacuated by the armed forces of the French Union, and all islands south of it shall be evacuated by the forces of the People's Army of Viet-Nam.

Article 5

To avoid any incidents which might result in the resumption of hostilities, all military forces, supplies and equipment shall be withdrawn from the demilitarized zone within twenty-five (25) days of the present Agreement's entry into force.

Article 6

No person, military or civilian, shall [illegible]

Article 7

No person, military or civilian, shall be permitted to enter the demilitarized zone except persons concerned with the conduct of civil administration and relief and persons specifically authorized to enter by the Joint Commission.

Article 8

Civil administration and relief in the demilitarized zone on either side of the provisional military demarcation lines shall be the responsibility of the Commanders-in-Chief of the two parties in their respective zones. The number of persons, military or civilian, from each side who are permitted to enter the demilitarized zone for the conduct of civil administration and relief shall be determined by the respective Commanders, but in no case shall the total number authorized by either side exceed at any one time a figure to be determined by the Trung Gia Military Commission or by the Joint Commission. The number of civil police and the arms to be carried by them shall be determined by the Joint Commission. No one else shall carry arms unless specifically authorized to do so by the Joint Commission.

Article 9

Nothing contained in this chapter shall be construed as limiting the complete freedom of movement, into, out of or within the demilitarized zone, of the Joint Commission, its joint groups, the International Commission to be set up as indicated below, its inspection teams and any other persons, supplies or equipment specifically authorized to enter the demilitarized zone by the Joint Commission. Freedom of movement shall be permitted across the territory under the military control of either side over any road or waterway which has to be taken between points within the demilitarized zone when such points are not connected by roads or waterways lying [illegible] within the demilitarized zone.

Chapter II—Principles and Procedure Governing Implementation of the Present Agreement

Article 10

The Commanders of the Forces on each side, on the one side the Commander-in-Chief of the French Union forces in Indo-China and on the other side the Commander-in-Chief of the People's Army of Viet-Nam, shall order and enforce the complete cessation of all hostilities in Viet-Nam by all armed forces under their control, including all units and personnel of the ground, naval and air forces.

Article 11

In accordance with the principle of a simultaneous cease-fire throughout Indo-China, the [illegible]

Taking into account the time effectively required to transmit the cease-fire order down to the lowest echelons of the combatant forces on both sides, the two parties are agreed that the cease-fire shall take effect completely and simultaneously for the different sectors of the country as follows:

Northern Viet-Nam at 8.00 a.m. (local time) on 27 July 1954

Central Viet-Nam at 8.00 a. m. (local time) on 1 August 1954

Southern Viet-Nam at 8.00 a. m. (local time) on 11 August 1954

It is agreed that Pekin mean time shall be taken as local time.

From such time as the cease-fire becomes effective in Northern Viet-Nam, both parties undertake not to engage in any large-scale offensive action in any part of the Indo-Chinese theatre of operations and not to commit air forces based on Northern Viet-Nam outside that sector. The two parties also undertake to inform each other of their plans for movement from one regrouping zone to another within twenty-five (25) days of the present Agreement's entry into force.

Article 12

All the operations and movements entailed in the cessation of hostilities and regrouping must proceed in a safe and orderly fashion:

(a) Within a certain number of days after the cease-fire Agreement shall have become effective, the number to be determined on the spot by the Trung Gia Military Commission, each party shall be responsible for removing and neutralizing mines (including river- and sea-mines), booby traps, explosives and any other dangerous substances placed by it. In the event of its being impossible to complete the work of removal and neutralization in time, the party concerned shall mark the spot by placing visible signs there. All demolitions, mine fields, wire entanglements and other hazards to the free movement of the personnel of the Joint Commission and its joint groups, known to be present after the withdrawal of the military forces, shall be reported to the Joint Commission by the Commanders of the opposing forces;

(b) From the time of the cease-fire until regrouping is completed on either side of the demarcation line:

(1) The forces of either party shall be provisionally withdrawn from the assembly areas assigned to the other party.

(2) When one party's forces withdraw by a route (road, rail, waterway, [illegible]

The Secretaries-General of the three Commissions shall be responsible for co-ordinating their work and for relations between them.

46. The International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam may, after consultation with the International Commissions for Supervision and Control in Cambodia and Laos, and having regard to the development of the situation in Cambodia and Laos, progressively reduce its activites. Such a decision must be adopted unanimously.

47. All the provisions of the present Agreement, save the second sub-paragraph of Article 11, shall enter into force at 2400 hours (Geneva time) on 22 July 1954.

Done in Geneva at 2400 hours on the 20th day of July 1954 in French and in Viet-Namese, both texts being equally authentic.

For the Commander-in-Chief of the
People's Army of Viet-Nam
TA-QUANG-BUU,
Vice-Minister of National Defense of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam

For the Commander-in-Chief of the
French Union Forces in Indo-China
Brigadier-General DELTEIL

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ANNEX TO THE AGREEMENT ON THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES IN VIET-NAM

I. DELINEATION OF THE PROVISIONAL MILITARY DEMARCATION LINE AND THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE

(Article 1 of the Agreement; Reference Map: Indo-China 1/100,000)

(a) The provisional military demarcation line is fixed as follows, reading from east to west: the mouth of the Song Ben Hat (Cua Tung River) and the course of that river (known as the Rao Thanh in the mountains) to the village of Bo Ho Su, then the parallel of Bo Ho Su to the Laos-Viet-Nam frontier.

(b) The demilitarized zone shall be delimited by Trung Gia Military Commission in accordance with the provisions of article 1 of the Agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Viet-Nam.

II. GENERAL DELINEATION OF THE PROVISIONAL ASSEMBLY AREAS

(Article 15 of the Agreement; Reference Maps: Indo-China 1/400,000)

(a) NORTH VIET-NAM

Delineation of the boundary of the provisional assembly area of the French Union forces

1. The perimeter of Hanoi is delimited by the arc of a circle with a radius of 15 kilometres, having as its centre the right bank abutment of Doumer Bridge and running westwards from the Red River to the Rapids Canal in the north-east.

In this particular case no forces of the French Union shall be stationed less than 2 kilometres from this perimeter, on the inside thereof.

2. The perimeter of Haiphong shall be delimited by the Song-Van Uc as far as Kim Thanh and a line running from the Song-Van-Uc three kilometres north-east of Kim Thanh to cut Road No. 18 two kilometres east of Mao-Khe. Thence a line running three kilometres north of Road 18 to Cho-Troi and a straight line from Cho-Troi to the Mong-Duong ferry.

3. *A corridor contained between:*

In the south, the Red River from Thanh-Tri to Bang-Nho, thence a line joining the latter point to Do-My (south-west of Kenat), Gia-Loc and Tien Kieu; Seven kilometres north of Pha-Lai Seven Pagodas and thence parallel to Road No. 18 to its point of intersection with the perimeter of Haiphong.

Note: Throughout the period of evacuation of the perimeter of Hanoi, the river forces of the French Union shall enjoy complete freedom of movement on the Song-Van-Uc. And the forces of the People's Army of Viet-Nam shall withdraw three kilometres south of the south bank of the Song-Van-Uc.

Boundary between the perimeter of Hanoi and the perimeter of Haiduong

A straight line running from the Rapids canal three kilometres west of Chi-ne and ending at Do-My (eight kilometres south-west of Kenat).

(b) CENTRAL VIET-NAM

Delineation of the boundary of the provisional assembly area of the forces of the Viet-Nam People's Army south of the Col des Nuages parallel

The perimeter of the Central Viet-Nam area shall consist of the administrative boundaries of the provinces of Quang-Ngai and Binh-Dinh as they were defined before the hostilities.

(c) SOUTH VIET-NAM

Three provisional assembly areas shall be provided for the forces of the People's Army of Viet-Nam.

The boundaries of these areas are as follows:

1. *Xuyen-Moc, Ham-Tan Area*

Western boundary: The course of the Song-Ray extended northwards as far as Road No. 1 to a point thereon eight kilometres east of the intersection of Road No. 1 and Road No. 8

Northern boundary: Road No. 1 from the above-mentioned intersection to the intersection with Route Communale No. 9 situated 27 kilometres west-south-west of Phanthiet and from that intersection a straight line to Kim Thanh on the coast.

2. *Plaine des Joncs Area*

Northern boundary: The Viet-Nam-Cambodia frontier.

Western boundary: A straight line from Tong-Binh to Binh-Thanh.

Southern boundary: Course of the Fleuve Antérieur (Mekong) to ten kilometres south-east of Cao Lanh. From that point, a straight line as far as Ap-My-Dien, and from Ap-My-Dien a line parallel to and three kilometres east and then south of the Tong Doc-Loc Canal, this line reaches My-Hanh-Dong and then: Hung-Thanh-My.

Eastern boundary: A straight line from Hung-Thanh-My running northwards to the Cambodian frontier south of Doi-Bao-Voi.

3. *Point Camau Area*

Northern boundary: The Song-Cai-Lon from its mouth to its junction with the Rach-Nuoc-Trong, thence the Rach-Ngoc-Trong to the bend five kilometres north-east of Ap-Xeo-La. Thereafter a line to the Ngan-Dua Canal and following that Canal as far as Vinh-Hung. Finally, from Vinh-Hung a north-south line to the sea.

●

GENEVA CONFERENCE
INDO-CHINA

FINAL DECLARATION, dated the 21st July, of the Geneva Conference on the probler restoring peace in Indo-China, in which representatives of Cambodia, the Democ Republic of Viet-Nam, France, Laos, the Peo Republic of China, the State of Viet-Nam, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Un Kingdom, and the United States of Ame took part.

[IC/43/Rev. 2, 21 July 1954, Original: Fren

1. The Conference takes note of the agr ments ending hostilities in Cambodia, Laos a Viet-Nam and organizing international cont and the supervision of the execution of t provisions of these agreements.

2. The Conference expresses satisfaction the ending of hostilities in Cambodia, La and Viet-Nam; the Conference expresses its co viction that the execution of the provisio set out in the present declaration and in t agreements on the cessation of hostilities w permit Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam henc forth to play their part, in full independen and sovereignty, in the peaceful communi of nations.

3. The Conference takes note of the declar tions made by the Governments of Cambod and of Laos of their intention to adopt measur permitting all citizens to take their place i the national community, in particular by pa ticipating in the next general elections, whic in conformity with the constitution of each c these countries, shall take place in the cour of the year 1955, by secret ballot and in co ditions of respect for fundamental freedo

4. The Conference takes note of the clause in the agreement on the cessation of hostilitie in Viet-Nam prohibiting the introduction int Viet-Nam of foreign troops and military person nel as well as of all kinds of arms and munitions The Conference also takes note of the declara tions made by the Governments of Cambodi and Laos of their resolution not to reques foreign aid, whether in war material, in per sonnel or in instructors except for the purpos of the effective defence of their territory and in the case of Laos, to the extent defined by the agreements on the cessation of hostilities in Laos.

5. The Conference takes note of the clause in the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Viet-Nam to the effect that no military base under the control of a foreign State may be established in the regrouping zones of the two parties, the latter having the obligation to see that the zones allotted to them shall not constitute part of any military alliance and shall not be utilized for the resumption of hostilities or in the service of an aggressive policy. The Conference also takes note of the declarations of the Governments of Cambodia and Laos to the effect that they will not join in any agreement with other States if this agreement includes the obligation to participate in a military alliance not in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations or, in the case of Laos, with the principles of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Laos or, so long as their security is not threatened, the obligation to establish bases on Cambodian or Laotian territory for the military forces of foreign Powers.

6. The Conference recognizes that the essential purpose of the agreement relating to Viet-

removing the bodies of deceased military nnel of that party, including the bodies ecaard prisoners of war. The Joint Com- ion shall determine the procedures and the limit for the performance of this task. Commanders of the Forces of the two par- shall communicate to each other all informa- in their possession as to t place of ial of military personnel of the other party.

cle 24

he present Agreement shall apply to all armed forces of either party. The armed ces of each party shall respect the demili- zed zone and the territory under the military trol of the other party, and shall commit act and undertake no operation against other party and shall not engage in blockade any kind in Viet-Nam.

For the purposes of the present Article, the rd "territory" includes territorial waters and space.

rticle 25

The Commanders of the Forces of the two arties shall afford full protection and all ossible assistance and co-operation to the Joint Commission and its joint groups and to the International Commission and its inspection eams in the performance of the functions and asks assigned to them by the present Agreement.

rticle 26

The costs involved in the operations of the oint Commission and joint groups and of the nternational Commission and its Inspection Teams shall be shared equally between the wo parties.

rticle 27

The signatories of the present Agreement and their successors in their functions shall be responsible for ensuring the observance and enforcement of the terms and provisions thereof. The Commanders of the Forces of the two parties shall, within their respective commands, take all steps and make all arrangements necessary to ensure full compliance with all the provisions of the present Agreement by all elements and military personnel under their command.

The procedures laid down in the present Agreement shall, whenever necessary, be studied by the commanders of the two parties and, if necessary, defined more specifically by the Joint Commission.

CHAPTER VI—JOINT COMMISSION AND INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SUPERVISION AND CONTROL IN VIET-NAM

28. Responsibility for the execution of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities shall rest with the parties.

29. An International Commission shall ensure the control and supervision of this execution.

30. In order to facilitate, under the conditions shown below, the execution of provisions concerning joint actions by the two parties a Joint Commission shall be set up in Viet-Nam.

31. The Joint Commission shall be composed an equal number of representatives of the commanders of the two parties.

32. The Presidents of the delegations to the Joint Commission shall hold the rank of General.

The Joint Commission shall set up joint groups the number of which shall be determined mutual agreement between the parties. The int groups shall be composed of an equal mber of officers from both parties. Their ation on the demarcation line between the grouping zones shall be determined by the rties while taking into account the powers of the following provisions of the on the cessation of hostilities:

(a) A simultaneous and general cease-fire in Viet-Nam for all regular and irregular armed forces of the two parties.

(b) A re-grouping of the armed forces of the two parties.

(c) Observance of the demarcation lines between the re-grouping zones and of the demilitarized sectors.

Within the limits of its competence it shall help the parties to execute the said provisions, shall ensure liaison between them for the purpose of preparing and carrying out plans for the application of these provisions, and shall endeavor to solve such disputed questions as may arise between the parties in the course of executing these provisions.

34. An International Commission shall be set up for the control and supervision over the application of the provisions of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Viet-Nam. It shall be composed of representatives of the following States: Canada, India and Poland.

It shall be presided over by the Representative of India.

35. The International Commission shall set up fixed and mobile inspection teams, composed of an equal number of officers appointed by each of the above-mentioned States. The fixed teams shall be located at the following points: Laokay, Langson, Tien-Yen, Haiphong, Vinh, Dong-Hoi, Muong-Sen, Tourane, Quinhon, Nhatrang, Bangoi, Saigon, Cap St. Jacques, Tranchau. These points of location may, at a later date, be altered at the request of the Joint Commission, or of one of the parties, or of the International Commission itself, by agreement between the International Commission and the command of the party concerned. The zones of action of the mobile teams shall be the regions bordering the land and sea frontiers of Viet-Nam, the demarcation lines between the re-grouping zones and the demilitarized zones. Within the limits of these zones they shall have the right to move freely and shall receive from the local civil and military authorities all facilities they may require for the fulfilment of their tasks (provision of personnel, placing at their disposal documents needed for supervision, summoning witnesses necessary for holding enquiries, ensuring the security and freedom of movement of the inspection teams etc. . . .) They shall have at their disposal such modern means of transport, observation and communication as they may require. Beyond the zones of action as defined above, the mobile teams may, by agreement with the command of the party concerned, carry out other movements within the limits of the tasks given them by the present agreement.

36. The International Commission shall be responsible for supervising the proper execution by the parties of the provisions of the agreement. For this purpose it shall fulfil the tasks of control, observation, inspection and investigation connected with the application of the provisions of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities, and it shall in particular:

(a) Control the movement of the armed forces of the two parties, effected within the framework of the regrouping plan.

(b) Supervise the demarcation lines between the regrouping areas, and also the demilitarized zones.

(c) Control the operation of releasing prisoners of war and civilian internees.

(d) Supervise at posts and airfields as well as along all frontiers of Viet-Nam the execution of the provisions of the agreement on forces military personnel and of all kinds of ammunitions and war material.

37. The International Commission shall, through the medium of the inspection teams mentioned above, and as soon as possible either on its own initiative, or at the request of the Joint Commission, or of one of the parties, undertake the necessary investigations both documentary and on the ground.

38. The inspection teams shall submit to the International Commission the results of their supervision, their investigation and their observations, furthermore they shall draw up such special reports as they may consider necessary or as may be requested from them by the Commission. In the case of a disagreement within the teams, the conclusions of each member shall be submitted to the Commission.

39. If any one inspection team is unable to settle an incident or considers that there is a violation or a threat of a serious violation the International Commission shall be informed; the latter shall study the reports and the conclusions of the Inspection teams and shall inform the parties of the measures which should be taken for the settlement of the incident, ending of the violation or removal of the threat of violation.

40. When the Joint Commission is unable to reach an agreement on the interpretation to be given to some provision or on the appraisal of a fact, the International Commission shall be informed of the disputed question. Its recommendations shall be sent directly to the parties and shall be notified to the Joint Commission.

41. The recommendations of the International Commission shall be adopted by majority vote, subject to the provisions contained in article 42. If the votes are divided the chairman's vote shall be decisive.

The International Commission may formulate recommendations concerning amendments and additions which should be made to the provisions of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Viet-Nam, in order to ensure a more effective execution of that agreement. These recommendations shall be adopted unanimously.

42. When dealing with questions concerning violations, or threats of violations, which might lead to a resumption of hostilities, namely:

(a) Refusal by the armed forces of one party to effect the movements provided for in the regroupement plan;

(b) Violation by the armed forces of one of the parties of the regrouping zones, territorial waters, or air space of the other party;

the decisions of the International Commission must be unanimous.

43. If one of the parties refuses to put into effect a recommendation of the International Commission, the parties concerned or the Commission itself shall inform the members of the Geneva Conference.

If the International Commission does not reach unanimity in the cases provided for in article 42, it shall submit a majority report and one or more minority reports to the members of the Conference.

The International Commission shall inform the members of the Conference in all cases where its activity is being hindered.

44. The International Commission shall be set up at the time of the cessation of hostilities in Indo-China in order that it should be able to fulfil the tasks provided for in article 36.

45. The International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam shall act in close co-operation with the International Com-

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TRUE COPY

Director of FBI
Washington D. C.

27 July 1965

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I thought you might be interested in seeing the kind of "Flyers" that are presently floating around on the campuses of Wittenberg University and Antioch College. Please note paragraph 3 on the back side of the Flyer under Subtitle "Action."

The red marking on this Flyer is my own - I was so angry when my daughter came home from a morning session at the Wittenberg University and handed me this Flyer which was handed to her by a "Visitor" from Antioch who was passing these flyers out to any and all students who would take one.

These college kids plan on demonstrating in front of the SAC gate on Wright Patterson AFB on 6 Aug 65. When I showed this flyer to one of my fellow workers, he merely commented - "What are you concerned over this for, it's only an exercise of the kids' right of free speech."

How much longer is our American public going to hide behind such platitudes and abusive use of our Free Speech guarantee. Don't mind me, I'm just raging over this subtle if not insidious communistic propaganda.

Yours, truly

[redacted]

[redacted]

1 ENCLOSURE

Director of FBI
Washington D.C.

27 July 1965

Dear Mr. Hoover:

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ENCLOSURE

CORRESPONDENCE

II

These College kids plan on demonstrating in front of the SAC gate on Wright Patterson AFB on 6 Aug 65. When I showed this flyer to one of my fellow workers, he merely commented — "What are you concerned over this for, it's only an exercise of the kids' right of free speech."

How much longer is our american public going to hide behind such platitudes and abusive use of our Free Speech guarantee. Don't mind me, I'm just raging over this subtle if not insidious communistic propaganda

Yours, truly

[redacted] b1c

Toward Nuclear War?

The continuation of the present American policy could lead to

1) increase of animosity against the United States and the losing of allies,

2) call-up of reserves and increased draft calls,

3) involvement in a major land war against North Vietnam or China involving huge casualty lists on all sides,

4) escalation to a world-wide nuclear war, a war in which the destruction visited on Hiroshima and Nagasaki 20 years ago would be multiplied millions of times all over the world.

Proposals

Some of the ingredients which might go into a solution of the war are

1. Social and economic development of Vietnam.
2. Negotiations with the National Liberation Front.
3. Free elections in South Vietnam.
4. Complete withdrawal of American and all other foreign troops to let the Vietnamese have their revolution as we had ours.

Action

We of the Dayton Area Committee for Peace in Vietnam urge you to commit yourself to take action against the war.

There are several things the concerned citizen may do:

1. Read more about Vietnam and get many different viewpoints.

2. Write to the President and members of Congress. Tell them what you think should be done.

3. Join us in protesting the war. Come to the demonstration on Friday, August 6, at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base.

For further information call or write:

Art Landes
133 W. Whiteman
Yellow Springs, Ohio
Phone 767-3671

Ann Peery
Route 1, Box 290P
Yellow Springs, Ohio
Phone DR2-7944

Richard Kalman
Normont Hall, Antioch Col.
Yellow Springs, Ohio
PBX-260 or 767-0840

PRINTED BY VOLUNTEER LABOR

ENCLOSURE

100-439048 - 152

THE HIROSHIMA BOMB AND TODAY'S WAR

FELLOW CITIZENS:

Twenty years ago, on August 6, 1945, the United States dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Many people hoped that the terrible devastation by the bomb would convince the nations of the world that war must be rejected. Today the Strategic Air Command is a primary agency for waging nuclear war.

Today, we find the United States once more involved in a war. Every day 2 million dollars of our tax money is spent to support the war in Vietnam. For each B-52 bomber built to fight in Vietnam, we spend 8 million dollars—enough for 4 modern schools. Every week more and more American soldiers are landing in Vietnam. Why are we committing so much money and manpower to this war?

Freedom and Democracy

Our government tells us that we are fighting for freedom and democracy in South Vietnam. However, *THE FACTS* don't support this position. For, in Vietnam, we are fighting on the side of a goverment that was illegally installed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in 1954. The Vietnamese People did NOT elect this government. In fact, if they bad been given a chance to vote in 1956, what would have happened? According to former President Eisenhower: "I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indo-Chinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been held as of the time of fighting possibly 80 per cent of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh" (*Mandate for Change*, p. 372).

Because the elections in 1956 were cancelled many South Vietnamese peasants formed guerrilla bands to oust the oppressive government. These guerrilla bands formed their own government in 1960 called the National Liberation Front. Although the Front has been aided from North Vietnam it is still a Southern freedom movement and most of the North Vietnamese who our government says are infiltrating, are in fact *native* South Vietnamese!

For What Do We Die?

Today the U.S. is fighting against democracy, against self rule for the Vietnamese and against social change in Asia. Unlike the Americans who died at Normandy in 1944, the Americans who are dying today in Vietnam are NOT dying for a just cause.

(OVER)

August 4, 1965

REC-87 100-439048-457

EX-102

[redacted] b7c

[redacted] b7c

AUG 4 2 21 PM '65

RECEIVED ADING ROOM

Dear [redacted]

Your letter of July 27th, with enclosure, has been received, and I want to thank you for the thoughtfulness in writing.

I can certainly understand your concern over the forces that menace America. Your interest in forwarding this material to me is indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Peery has been active in the Antioch Chapter of Students for a Democratic Society which protested the United States in Vietnam. Bufiles reflect that the Dayton Area Committee for Peace in ~~Vietnam is a group~~ active in marching to end American intervention in Vietnam and to take the problems to the conference table. Bufiles reflect that Landes arranged for a group from Dayton to participate in the tax demonstrations on 4-15-65 in Washington, D. C. Kallman is not identifiable in Bufiles.

MAILED 2
AUG - 4 1965
COMM-FBI

DFC:cal (3)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

51 AUG 17 1965 TELETYPE UNIT

4-528

100-439048-453

CHANGED TO

100-439048-13-5

MAR 23 1967

[illegible]

4-528

100-439048-454

CHANGED TO

100-439048-15-12X

AUG 5 1971

MH / mkk

C

4-528

AD-439048-455, 456, 457

CHANGED TO

AD-439048-21-4
AD-439048-8-4
AD-439048-61-5

MAR 23 1967

BRIGHT PATMAN, TEX., CHAIRMAN
RICHARD BOLLING, MO.
HALE BOGGS, LA.
HENRY S. REUSS, WIS.
MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS, MICH.
THOMAS B. CURTIS, MO.
WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, N.J.
ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH, KANS.

JAMES W. KEMPLER,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Congress of the United States

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

(CREATED PRESIDENT TO SEC. 5(a) OF PUBLIC LAW 304, 79TH CONGRESS)

PAUL H. DOUGLAS, ILL.
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.
J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.
WILLIAM PROXMIRE,
HERMAN E. TALMADGE
JACOB K. JAVITS, N.
JACK MILLER, IOWA
LEN B. JORDAN, ID

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

24 July 1965

EXP. PROC.
34 JUL 27 1965

J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have received the enclosed inquiry about a conspiracy to recruit left-wing extremists to fight on the side of the Viet Cong in Viet Nam. Can you give us any information at all about the accuracy of this allegation? Thank you.

With best wishes.

Faithfully yours,

Paul H. Douglas

Paul H. Douglas

PHD:gs
enclosure

Memo Sullivan to Sullivan 30-7-65 Encls. Ltr to Senator Douglas Encl. WGS:24K 7/30/65
CWT: [illegible]

458

REC- 49

original enclosure returned to Senator Douglas by Crime Records Div. Very made for our file

EX 105

ENCLOSURE

JUL 27 1965

CORRESPONDENCE

COPY

[redacted] b7c

July 13, 1965

Senator Paul Douglas
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

What do you know about a treasonable movement in the United States to recruit left wing extremists to fight on the side of the Viet Cong against Americans?

I am refering to a front page article by Fulton Lewis, Jr., in the July 17th issue of Human Events.

Recruiting was reported going on at the University of California and by the Students for a Democratic Society in Michigan.

If there is any truth in this action what can you do to bring these traitors to justice?

Sincerely,

[redacted] b7c

COPY

100-437041-45

ENCLOSURE

[redacted]

July 13, 1965 b7c

Senator Paul Douglas
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

What do you know about a treasonable movement in the United States to recruit left wing extremists to fight on the side of the Viet Cong against Americans?

I am refering to a front page article by Fulton Lewis Jr. in the July 17th issue of Human Events.

Recruiting was reported going on at the University of California and by the Students for a Democratic Society in Michigan.

If there is any truth in this action what can you do to bring these traitors to justice?

Sincerely,

[redacted]

b7c

REC-49

EX-105

100-439048-458

[redacted] b7c

July 30, 1965

1 - Belmont
1 - Mohr
1 - DeLoach
1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

Honorable Paul H. Douglas
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20515

My dear Senator:

I have received your letter dated July 24, 1965, together with a letter which you enclosed from [redacted], dated July 13, 1965. b7c

While I would like to be of assistance in connection with your constituent's inquiry, I must advise you that the files of the FBI are maintained as confidential and for official use only in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. I regret that I am unable to comply with your inquiry, but I am sure you will understand.

The letter from Mr. [redacted] is being returned to you with this communication. b7c

MAILED 2
AUG - 2 1965
COMM-FBI

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

100-439048

NOTE:

See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, dated 7/30/65, captioned "Students for a Democratic Society, Internal Security - C," prepared by CWT:pah.

CWT:pah
(10)

Tolson
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Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

51 AUG 17 1965

TELETYPE UNIT

FBI
AUG 2 10 09 AM '65
MAIL ROOM READING ROOM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

1 - Belmont
1 - Mohr
1 - DeLoach

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: July 30, 1965

1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - [redacted]
1 - [redacted]

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

By letter dated 7/24/65 Senator Paul H. Douglas (Democrat-Illinois) forwarded a letter dated 7/13/65 which he received from [redacted] This letter inquired about a recent article written by Fulton Lewis, Jr., which reported that left-wing extremists are attempting to recruit individuals to fight for the Viet Cong against Americans in Vietnam. [redacted] indicated that recruiting was allegedly going on in California [redacted] by the Students for a Democratic Society in Michigan. Senator Douglas requested any information in possession of this Bureau concerning the accuracy of this allegation.

Sources of this Bureau have reported that at a recent national convention of the Students for a Democratic Society held at Camp Maplehurst, Kewadin, Michigan, members of the Progressive Labor Party and the May 2 Movement were giving guerrilla training during the convention and were attempting to enlist recruits to fight Americans in Vietnam. No information has been received regarding any such activity in California. Dept. Justice [illegible] and we are trying to develop an exact act.

Bureau files reflect that we have had cordial correspondence with Senator Douglas in the past. No identifiable information is contained in Bureau files regarding [redacted] However, it is believed in this instance we should give Senator Douglas "files confidential" answer in view of the nature of the inquiry.

RECOMMENDATION:

REC-49 100-439048-459

Attached for approval is a letter to Senator Douglas advising him of the confidential nature of the Bureau's [illegible] and returning his constituent's letter, a copy of which has been made for Bureau files. An extra copy of our letter has been prepared for Senator Douglas to transmit to his constituent.

100-439048
Enclosures

CWT:pah:dmk
(8)

51 AUG 17 1965

4-528

100-437048- [illegible]

CHANGED TO

100-437048-2-1

MAR 2[illegible]

[illegible]

4-312 (Rev. 1-10-42)

Date of Mail 7-24-65

Has been removed and placed in the Special File Room of Records Branch.

See File 66-2554-7530 for authority.

Subject JUNE MAIL Students for a Democratic Society

Removed By 65 AUG 17 1965

File Number 100-439048-46.1

Permanent Serial Charge Out

4-523

100-439048-462, 463, 464, 465, 466

CHANGED TO

100-439048-42-41
100-439048-15-12
100-439048-5-12
100-439048-8-5
100-439048-45-18

MAR 23 1967

4-528

100-434048-467

CHANGED TO

100-434048-5-12X

AUG 5 1971

M H Friedel

8/10/65

AIRTEL

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (42-187399)

FROM SAC, CHICAGO (RUC)

RE: [redacted] b7C

FUDE

OO: Springfield

ReBuairtel 8/5/65.

[redacted] (correct spelling) is now located at 327 Adams Street, Number 9, Hoboken, New Jersey. b7E

[redacted] b7E

[redacted] no person by the name of BEVERIDGE known to be a member of the SDS.

Indices of the Chicago Office contain no information on BEVERIDGE.

Springfield, if not already done, should give consideration to having Newark interview [redacted] re his alleged knowledge of the whereabouts of subject.

JOHNSON

4-Bureau (RM)
(1-100-439048) (SDS)
4-Newark (RM)
([redacted] b7C
(1-SDS)
3-Springfield (RM)
(1-100-10202) (SDS)
3-Chicago
(1-100-40903) (SDS)
JEH:SR
(13)

100-439048-1

NOT RECORDED
150 AUG 16 1965

53 AUG 18 1965

ORIGINAL FILED IN 42-187399-5

4-528

100-439048-468, 469, 470

CHANGED TO

100-439048-16-2
100-439048-1-8
100-439048-46-2

MAR 23 1967

JH-mt / RD-[illegible]

EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
ILLINOIS

MINORITY LEADER

United States Senate

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

August 2, 1965

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I would appreciate any information or comments you might have regarding that portion of the attachment marked in red sent to me by [redacted] Please return [redacted] their letter with your reply. [redacted]

Sincerely,

Everett McKinley Dirksen

Everett McKinley Dirksen

ack 8-5-65
DTP/mf/cb

REC-76

ENCLOSURE
(Returned to correspondent)

2 AUG 12 1965

CORRESPONDENCE

[redacted]

b7c

July 27, 1965

Senator Everett M. Dirksen
State Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Senator Dirksen:

The inclosed Babson Report showing the article "Reds Recruit Americans to Fight G.I.'s" is being submitted for your consideration.

As parents of a boy who is three weeks out of service and who will probably be recalled, we are shocked and deeply resentful. Could not the Congress take corrective measures? Is it possible that this information is suppressed by the news media? Circulation of the article among my clientel reflected 100% ignorance on the part of the people.

Sincerely,

b7c

[redacted]

VJC:lp

Dabson's Reports
Washington Forecast Letter
CONFIDENTIAL ADVICE ON COMING DEVELOPMENTS
Volume 56, Number 29 BAROMETER LETTER July 19, 1965 (W-1679)

REDS RECRUIT AMERICANS TO FIGHT G.I.'s

Odds Rise on Short-Term Steel Strike in Late Summer

U.S. Communists are recruiting Americans to join the Viet Cong in fighting against our G.I.'s.

Reports of the recruiting activity have come from various parts of the nation ...principally on the campuses of large universities and at meetings of far-left organizations.

Several weeks ago, it was openly announced at one of these meetings that a number of American volunteers had already left for the battle front.

A gathering of several thousand leftist students at the University of California applauded a speaker who urged the formation of such "freedom fighter" groups.

Either encouraging the move or acting as a willing and effective vehicle for it is the "deep pink" organization known as Students for a Democratic Society...a group which has strongly opposed U.S. policy in South Vietnam.

Under the guise of the right of free speech and free assembly, Commie-influenced and Commie-controlled organizations thruout the U.S. have built an almost incredible record of seditious, treasonous, and traitorous activity.

Perhaps it would take an actual formal declaration of war against North Vietnam and its Viet Cong stooges to make it legally possible to put these obviously anti-American elements behind bars. If so, it would be worth it.

Anti-American Education: It's a sad commentary on our educational system that known Communists are permitted to influence the thinking of youthful Americans during their formative years...particularly on the campuses of government-operated schools.

Long ago, it was established unequivocally by our Supreme Court that the Communist Party U.S.A. is determined to destroy our form of government and is under the complete domination of a foreign power —Soviet Russia.

It's obvious to any reader of Communist literature in America or to any listener to a Communist speaker that the loyalty of the writer or speaker is to Russia, rather than to the U.S.

Our continuous war with Communism may be "cold" or "brushfire"...but it is serious—deadly serious.

To make it even easier for Communists to infiltrate our educational system (and this is one of their openly announced objectives), New York State University has recently abolished the requirement of a non-Communist loyalty oath for teachers in the many educational institutions that are under its control.

Right now, within the Congress, a move is under way—initiated by Sen. Bobby Kennedy, Sen. Joe Clark, and Rep. Ogden Reid—to eliminate the loyalty oath and criminal disclosure provisions of the National Defense Education Act (Bill numbers are S 2117 and HR 8330).

If the Kennedy-Clark-Reid move succeeds, students receiving federal funds as an educational subsidy will not be required

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2

100-429018

August 5, 1965

100-439048-471

Honorable Everett M. Dirksen
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

My dear Senator:

I received your letter of August 2nd enclosing a communication sent to you by [redacted]

While I certainly would like to be of help to your constituents, information contained in our files must be maintained as confidential in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. Therefore, I am sure your constituents will understand why I am not in a position to comment along the lines they have suggested. Your constituents may be interested to know, however, that the activity to which they referred has previously come to our attention, is being followed closely and has been forwarded to the Department of Justice for its consideration as to possible prosecutive action.

In response to your request, enclosed is the material you forwarded.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures (2)
1 - Chicago - Enclosures (3)
1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosures (3)
1 - M. A. Jones - Enclosures (3)
DTP:cal (7)

(See NOTE on next page)

AUG 5 12 40 PM '65
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

Tolson
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DeLoach
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Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

79 AUG 10 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Honorable Everett M. Dirksen

NOTE: We have had favorable relations with Senator Dirksen through the years. The [redacted] are not identifiable in Buffles.

bx

This matter has been brought to the Bureau's attention previously by Senator Douglas. It was recommended and approved that Senator Douglas be afforded a files confidential reply and that someone from Mr. DeLoach's Office personally deliver the letter and advise the Senator of the substance of data in Bureau files concerning this matter. This data is that sources of this Bureau have reported that a recent National Convention of the Students for a Democratic Society held at Camp Maplehurst, Kewadin, Michigan, members of the Progressive Labor Party and the May 2 Movement were giving guerrilla training during the Convention and were attempting to enlist recruits to fight Americans in Vietnam. No information has been received regarding any such activities in California. The Department is currently considering this matter.

8/10/65 Handled as above by [illegible] w/ J. R. Dirksen's Gomien, Senator a.a.

bx [redacted]

4-528

101-439048-472

CHANGED TO

101-439048-53-12

MAR 23 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

April 29, 1965

BY LIAISON

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. [redacted] b7C

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Watson:

There is enclosed a memorandum concerning the Students for a Democratic Society which I told the President on April 28, 1965, I would have prepared for his information.

Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

Delivered Afme 4/29/65

REC-76

Enclosure

100-439048-4733

100-439048

EX-113

19 AUG 16 1965

CWT:pah
(8)

NOTE: See cover memorandum Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan dated 4/29/65, captioned "Students for a Democratic Society, Internal Security - Communist," prepared by CWT:pah. This letter classified "Confidential [redacted]," inasmuch as it transmits an enclosure so classified.

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080
ON 3/7/77

1-ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

59 AUG 18 1965

CONFIDENTIAL

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. [redacted]

(IS) 100-439048

CONFIDENTIAL

April 29, 1965 b7e

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society, a self-described group of "liberals and radicals," was responsible for orgasizing the Student March on Washington, D. C., on April 17, 1965, and the "Easter Vigil" at the LBJ Ranch, Johnson City, Texas, on April 17 and 18, 1965, protesting United States action in Vietnam.

Background

This orgasization is the youth affiliate of the League for Industrial Democracy, the successor to the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society, which was organized in 1905. The stated purpose of the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society at the time it was formed was to mobilize college professors, students and graduates to teach socialism and collective owsership to college students, teachers, professional men and communities at large throughout the country. (61-524684)

The National Office of the Students for a Democratic Society is located at 119 5th Avenue, New York City, and the organization claims a membership of 1,700 members and 44 chapters. Its constitution describes the organization as "an association of young people on the left." The organization seeks to bring together "liberals and radicals" and "feels the urgency to put forth a radical democratic program." (100-439048-101)

A bulletin issued by the Students for a Democratic Society describes the purposes of this organization as follows:

> "1) to develop among students a concern for contemporary social, political and economic problems, looking both to immediate remedial programs and to a broader view of an humane social order where such problems would not exist [redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

CWT:JHK:pah

(SEE NOTE PAGE 7)

Classified by 6080
Exempt from GDS, Cat
Date of Declassification
Indefinite

Tolson
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Sullivan
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Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

CHAIR ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE

100-439048-473

"2) to build a movement of University reform seeking to establish conditions of academic freedom and internal democracy and to make the academic community a creative and penetrating force confronting the political and moral complexities of our time.

"3) to promote educated participation in movements of civil rights, civil liberties, and peace on the campus and the extension of these movements into the adult community, particularly with the view of coalescing such potentially allied interests as labor, farmer, minority group into a unified progressive force in American politics.

"4) to serve as a democratic initiative against those forces of reaction that would respond to international and domestic challenge with military initiative, pseudo-patriotism, and with an anti-labor, anti-welfare defense of outmoded economic and political privilege."
(100-439048-3)

Communist Party Line

The following examples show instances wherein the line followed by the Students for a Democratic Society parallels the line taken by the Communist Party, USA, on the same issues.

Vietnam

On February 7, 1965, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, issued a press release which demanded all attacks on North Vietnam cease, all American troops be withdrawn from Vietnam and an end to the undeclared war being waged in violation of our constitutional rights. (100-3-69-10300)

On March 5, 1965, the Students for a Democratic Society cosponsored a demonstration in front of the Armed Services Recruiting Station, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, protesting United States action in Vietnam. A leaflet distributed at this demonstration demanded an immediate cease fire in Vietnam and a negotiation to end all intervention in Southeast Asia. (105-138315-200)

[redacted]

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Abolition of "HUAC"

A letter dated November 10, 1964, on stationery of the Students for a Democratic Society stated that "this is the time" to abolish the "HUAC" (House Committee on Un-American Activities) and urged that copies of a pamphlet be circulated on campuses and among friends to urge Congressmen to vote against the "HUAC" on January 4, 1965. (100-439048-101, p. 13, 14)

The abolition of the "HUCA" has long been a cherished goal of the Communist Party, USA. The Party has repeatedly called for the abolition of this Committee in its various publications and statements by its leaders. For example, "The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, in its December 6, 1964, issue, carried a story which stated, "The time has come to make all laws pertaining to democratic rights and social legislation uniform throughout the land. To move in this direction requires the abolition of the HUAC...." (100-439048-51)

Repeal of McCarran Act

On November 22, 1964, Gus Hall was the principal speaker at a meeting of the Boston Jewish People's Forum, a suspected communist front organization in Boston, Massachusetts. After Hall's talk, Ann Timpson, Financial Secretary of the New England District of the Communist Party, USA, spoke and requested that supporters against the "anti-American McCarran Act" be present at hearings scheduled for Boston in the near future against Party leaders under the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act). (100-439048-51)

The December 5, 1964, issue of "The Harvard Crimson," an undergraduate daily newspaper published at Cambridge, Massachusetts, contained an article wherein the Students for a Democratic Society urged students to attend the hearings scheduled to be held in Boston in the near future to call attention to the need for the repeal of the McCarran Act. (100-439048-51)

Subversive Affiliations

The Students for a Democratic Society has demonstrated it will render support to or receive support from any organization, subversive or otherwise, which has common goals with the Society. The following information is set forth to show the affiliations of it and two of its principal officers with communist causes.

[redacted]

[redacted]

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

CONFIDENTIAL

During the period February 14 through 16, 1964, the Communist Party, USA, National Youth Commission held a meeting in New York City. On February 20, 1964, a meeting of the Portland Communist Party Youth Club was held in Portland, Oregon. Among the various reports given was one by James Berland, a member of the Reed College Communist Party Youth Club, on the National Youth Commission meeting which had been held in New York City. Berland stated that a Larry Gordon spoke at the New York City meeting and it was Gordon's opinion the Party could work through the Students for a Democratic Society and achieve the aims of the Party. Berland further stated that, as a result of the National Youth Commission meeting, it was decided that in areas where there were strong local chapters of the Students for a Democratic Society the Party youth would endeavor to work through the Society and in areas where there were no local Society chapters the Party youth would form Marxist discussion groups. (100-3-76-1750) b1

[redacted]

In January, 1965, two members of the Students for a Democratic Society represented that organization at a membership meeting of the W. E. B. DuBois Club of Chicago which was held in Chicago, Illinois. At this meeting these two individuals stated that they were willing to meet with the DuBois Club people in Chicago to discuss solutions to differences between the two organizations and methods of cooperating on various action projects. (100-439048-67)

[redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The W. E. B. DuBois Club of Chicago is an affiliate of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, a Marxist-oriented youth organization which was formed in June, 1964, as a result of a mandate from the Communist Party, USA.

Representatives of the Students for a Democratic Society participated in the initial meeting of the American Youth Festival Committee which was held in New York City on January 4, 1965. This Committee was formed to coordinate United States participation in the communist-sponsored Ninth World Youth Festival which is scheduled to be held in Algeria in the late Summer of 1965. (CGairtel and LHM 2/11/65 captioned "U. S. Festival Committee)

Vernon Grizzard

As of February 24, 1965, Vernon Grizzard was the Vice President of the Students for a Democratic Society. Grizzard attended both sessions of an Organizers' Conference held in Chicago, Illinois, on December 28 and 29, 1963, for the purpose of forming a "call" to a founding convention to be held in June, 1964, for the formation of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization. This Conference was attended by 24 persons, both Communist Party and non-Communist Party members. (100-439048-101, p. 12, 13)

Charles Clark Kissinger, Jr.

As of February 24, 1965, Kissinger was the National Secretary of the Students for a Democratic Society. In 1963 he was a student at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, and he made arrangements for the guest appearance of Herbert Aptheker, on a panel forum at the University on March 27, 1963. Herbert Aptheker is a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA. (100-439048-101, p. 13)

Activities

The Students for a Democratic Society has consistently called for withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam and, since the early part of 1965, has stepped up its campaign of attacking United States policy on Vietnam.

Demonstrations Held

On February 20, 1965, the Students for a Democratic Society cosponsored and participated in demonstrations in Chicago, Illinois, and at the White House in Washington, D. C., protesting the war in Vietnam. (105-138315-99 and 105-138315-84)

[redacted]

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

On March 5, 1965, the Students for a Democratic Society cosponsored a demonstration in front of the Armed Services Recruiting Station, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, protesting United States action in Vietnam. A leaflet distributed at this demonstration demanded an immediate cease fire in Vietnam and a negotiation to end all intervention in Southeast Asia. (105-138315-200)

On April 4, 1965, the Students for a Democratic Society announced plans to picket a lecture to be delivered by the Honorable McGeorge Bundy, Special Assistant to the President, on April 5, 1965, at Johns Hopkins University. The picketing took place as scheduled with approximately 50 participants carrying signs protesting United States policy in Vietnam. (105-138315-270)

March on Washington

The largest single demonstration held to date protesting United States action in Vietnam was the Student March on Washington, sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society, which was held on April 17, 1965. The extreme interest which the Communist Party, USA, exhibited in the March was evidenced by front page articles devoted to this event which appeared in "The Worker." In a directive to all Party districts dated March 31, 1965, the Communist Party, USA's, National Office described the March as the "major point of concentration" in the campaign in the withdrawal of United States forces from Vietnam. The Party districts were told that the main task was to get maximum participation in the March. (BTairtel 4/6/65, "CPUSA, International Relations, IS - C," 100-3-81)

An estimated 15,000 individuals participated in this demonstration, including Communist Party members from throughout the Nation. Arnold Johnson, Communist Party, USA, Public Relations Director, and Michael Zagarell, National Youth Director of the Communist Party, USA, participated in the March and George Meyers, a member of the Party's National Committee, distributed copies of "The Worker" during the March. In New York City 78 Communist Party members or sympathizers were observed boarding buses and trains destined for the March. (WFOairtel & LHM 4/17/65 & NYtels 4/17 & 19/65, re "March on Washington")

At a Communist Party National Committee meeting held April 23 through 25, 1965, Gus Hall reported that the Communist Party and individual communists participated in

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the March on Washington and described the March as an "unforgettable event." Michael Zagarell stated at this meeting that "we" played a decisive role in the March and Arnold Johnson reported that "our" people were there from all over the country. (NYtels 4/23, 24 & 25/65, re "CPUSA, Organization")

"Vigil" at LBJ Ranch

In conjunction with the Student March on Washington the "Easter Vigil" was organized to be held at the LBJ Ranch in Johnson City, Texas, over the Easter weekend. At a Communist Party meeting in San Antonio, Texas, prior to the vigil, a local Communist Party leader emphasized the importance of this action and urged Communist Party members in attendance to get people to join the vigil. Approximately 45 individuals participated in this vigil which took place on April 17 and 18, 1965. Included among the participants were individuals who have been identified as past or present members of the Communist Party. (SAairtel & LHM 4/5/65 re "Demonstrations," SAairtel and LHM 4/23/65 re "Easter Vigil")

Future Plans

The Students for a Democratic Society has announced plans for a massive civil disobedience campaign to take place from May 3 through May 8, 1965, in 65 cities throughout the United States. These demonstrations are to be held in conjunction with the organization's "National Vietnam Week" and will include sit-ins, lie-ins across major thoroughfares and marches with or without permits. A representative of the organization advised on April 28, 1965, that the plans for this campaign have not yet been finalized, but it is anticipated the plans will be completed by April 30, 1965.

Additionally, the Students for a Democratic Society plans a "major teach-in" on May 15, 1965, at St. Marks Episcopal Church in Washington, D. C., at which time a number of university faculty members will be brought to Washington, D. C., to challenge administration officials to a debate on the Vietnam policy. (CIairtel & LHM 4/22/65 re "Students for a Democratic Society" and NYtelcall to Bureau 4/28/65)

The original was sent to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President, by cover letter dated 4/29/65.

NOTE: See cover memorandum Mr. Baumgardner to Mr. Sullivan, dated 4/29/65, same caption, prepared by CWT:pah. Classified "Confidential" inasmuch as it contains information from confidential informants of continuing value and the unauthorized disclosure of this information could [redacted] compromise these informants and jeopardize the future effectiveness thereof.